

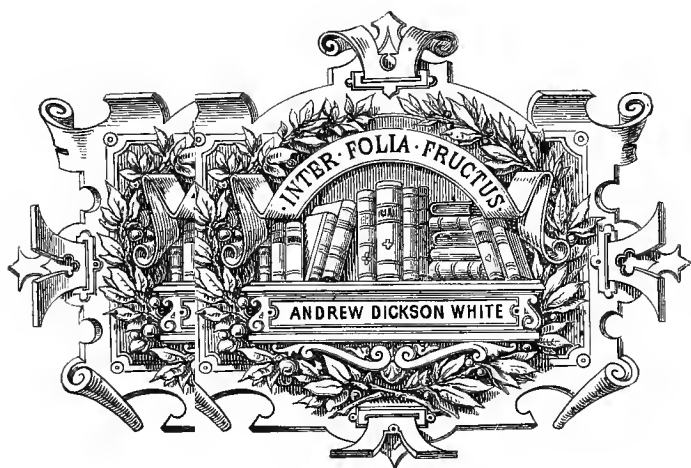


MEMORIES
OF THE
SPANISH REFORMERS



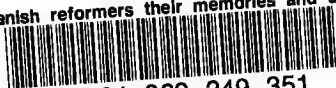
STOUGHTON





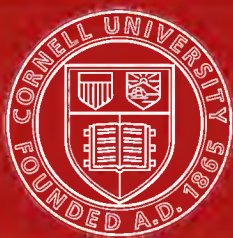
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JUAN DIAZ.

THE
SPANISH REFORMERS

THEIR
Memories and Dwelling-places

BY
JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.

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THE ITALIAN REFORMERS,' ETC.

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PREFACE.

IN recent volumes I have attempted to describe leading incidents of the Reformation connected with the 'Homes and Haunts of Luther;' and in like manner to associate salient points of the same great story with 'Footprints of Italian Reformers' in their own beautiful land.

I now venture to depict local memories of contemporary Spanish teachers, confessors, and martyrs, who caught more or less of Protestant inspiration at that critical age in the history of Europe.

Until lately, Dr. M'Crie's 'Reformation in Spain' was the principal English authority on the subject; but investigations since his time, carried on by sympathetic scholars in Spain, in our own country, and especially in Germany, particularly by Dr. Boehmer, have added much to our stock of information. Of all this I have availed myself in the following pages, as will appear from the footnotes.

I made a tour in Spain this last spring, in order to identify certain spots as the background scenery of facts, deeply interesting, and hence my arrangement, under topographical headings of chapters, intended to present recollections of the journey, with as

little disturbance as possible of chronological order, in describing characters and narrating events.

In noticing the religious ceremony performed by the Inquisition at the burning of victims, I have followed Spanish authorities, in spelling the name Auto *de* fé, not Auto *da* fé, which is the Portuguese method.

August, 1883.

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THE

SPANISH REFORMERS :

THEIR MEMORIES AND DWELLING-PLACES.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME notice of the history of Spain before the Reformation is required for an adequate appreciation of facts occurring there in connection with that event. Little has been written respecting its influence on Spaniards at the time. Localities where it produced effects are indistinctly known to the generality of English readers ; perhaps still more dimly discerned are thoughts and sentiments in earlier days which contributed to the results which it is my purpose to describe. They united to shape the character and destiny of those who perished in *autos de fé*, or were forced to wander far away from sunny lands they so much loved. Hence a few historical details are desirable before tracing the abodes and footsteps of Spanish Reformers.

As early as the fourth century we meet with a presbyter at Barcelona, who attempted to remove corruptions within the Church's pale. Vigilantius, at that period, was born in a village to the north of the Pyrenees, and received ordination from the famous Paulinus of Nola ; but there is no evidence of his exerting reformatory influences on the people amongst whom he tarried for a time. He denied some of the doctrines and practices then in course of development, such as the intercession of departed

saints, and a reverence for relics. It is more likely, however, that Christians on the shores of the Mediterranean were imbued with the sentiments he opposed, than that they shared with him in resisting their adoption. About the same time speculative tendencies of a different character appeared in Spain, for Priscillian was a Spaniard, and to him are attributed heresies both Manichæan and Gnostic. He seems to have believed in a dualistic principle,¹ and to have inculcated ascetic precepts, though he is charged with practices inconsistent with them. Priscillianism created a considerable party amongst the early Spaniards ; but Arianism took a stronger hold, prevailed to a wider extent, and retained a more enduring power. The Goths, who invaded the South at the beginning of the fifth century, were Arians, and carried their tenets into the regions they conquered ; hence the kingdom they founded tenaciously maintained the opinions of the Alexandrian heretic. A tenet called Adoptionism also made its mark to the south of the Pyrenees before the close of the sixth century. The doctrine so denominated was most likely a revival of Nestorianism—sharply dividing the human nature from the Divine in the person of our Lord. It consisted in the idea that He was the proper son of David, and only the adopted son of God. A Spanish bishop, Felix, compared the Divine adoption of our Lord's humanity to the Divine adoption of all His disciples ; only he said that the first of these relations was superior in degree to the second. Such speculations manifest a resistance of orthodox Church authority, and so far indicate what is termed freedom of thought ; but such opinions were sooner or later effaced. Priscillianism vanished about A.D. 461 ; Arianism in A.D. 569 ; Adoptionism, however, did not sink into oblivion till the year 816.

The Moorish reign in the Peninsula lasted till the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose glory it was, in the estimation of Aragonese and Castilians, that they planted the Cross where the

¹ Canon Robertson, Neander, Matter and others take this view.

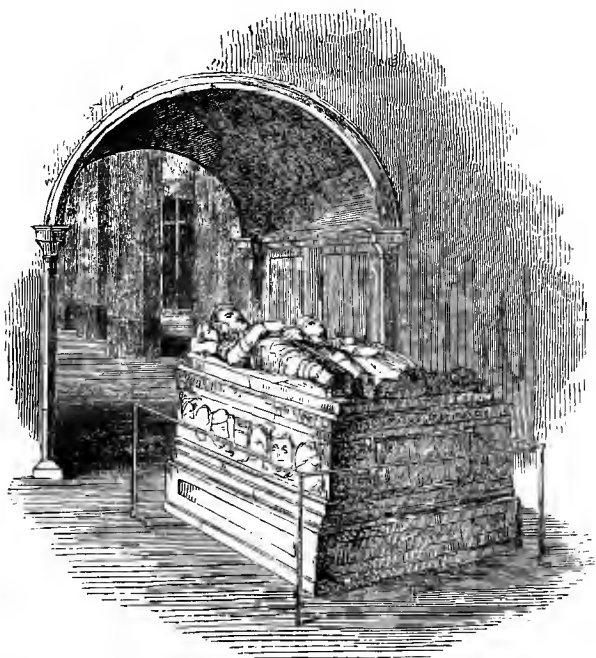
Crescent had shed a baneful brightness. Christianity for a time was crushed into a corner, but it gradually recovered lost ground, and the Church, boasting an unimpeachable orthodoxy, subdued, step by step, the whole country to itself.

As to the relation in which Spain stood to papal Rome, it may be remarked that a legate of Gregory the Great exerted considerable influence amongst the orthodox, during conflicts with Arian powers; but when the Goths became Catholic, they seem to have resisted certain papal claims. Witiza, King of the Goths at the beginning of the eighth century, anxious for the maintenance of royal prerogatives, forbade appeals to the Roman bishop; but so limited was the sympathy he inspired, that the loss of his throne was deemed a Divine judgment for his daring impiety. For ages Rome received from Spain, not submission, but deference; its primacy was conceded, not its supremacy. The Councils of Toledo, though provincial, were of high authority. Political as well as ecclesiastical, they ruled the State no less than the Church, and were, in fact, national parliaments; yet it would be a mistake to suppose there was in them what we understand by a popular element. Nobles made their appearance and took their share in the proceedings, but the clergy ruled. They took care to keep the staff in their own hands; they were sturdy in asserting the independence of their country, but they allowed a small measure of lay influence in the councils of Church and State.¹ Nor are there proofs of bishops or presbyters having attempted to stem the advancing tide of spiritual abuses, or to exhibit prominently what we understand by evangelical truths. Claude of Turin, a reformer of the ninth century, was a Spaniard by birth, who in some of his writings anticipated the doctrines of the Reformation, and produced

¹ Ecclesiastical influence in the Government of Castile so declined at a subsequent period that for six meetings of the Cortes, between 1299 and 1505, no prelates were summoned (Hallam, 'Middle Ages,' chap. iv.). The king had a prerogative of calling at his discretion persons of the highest orders, and he exercised it with freedom.

a great effect on his flock at Turin ; but I cannot discover grounds on which to maintain that he accomplished any reformatory effects in the land of his fathers.

Whatever might be the authority asserted by Councils at Toledo, prelates and nobles at length gave way to the supremacy of Rome, though a spirit of political and military self-reliance continued to



TOMB OF THE CID AND XIMENA AT SAN PEDRO DE CARDENA.

manifest itself in various ways. A temper truly heroic blazed in Spanish deeds, and breathed through Spanish ballads. In the twelfth century, one of "confusion and violence, when the Christian population of the country may be said, with the old chronicle, to have been kept constantly in battle array, we hear the first notes of their wild national poetry, which come to us mingled with their war

shouts, and breathing the very spirit of their victories.”¹ The Cid, that bright but shadowy form which flits across Spanish literature, is represented as upholding national rights ; but submission to Rome comes out unmistakeably in the twelfth century. Spanish independence of the Roman See was sought to be proved not long ago by a learned German,² as existing down to the capture of Toledo in 1085 ; and a bold bearing towards bishops who wore the tiara may be instanced at a much later date ; but if political ties with the papacy were not close and strong, the religion of Spain was most intimately connected with that of Rome, perhaps more so than amongst other people—more even than amongst the Crusaders. When Toledo was recovered from the Moors, the papal legate did all he could to bring Spanish worship into conformity with the Italian. The Spanish liturgy was called the *Mozarabic* office,³ and it was popular at Toledo and other places which had been under Moorish rule. Hence arose resistance to the change ; and to decide the controversy a strange method was employed. First two knights, representing the rival liturgies, met in combat before a noble assembly, and the Mozarabic champion won the

¹ Ticknor's 'Hist. of Spanish Lit.' i. 8.

² T. Ellendorf.

³ The Spanish liturgy appears to have strongly resembled the Gallican, and to have differed from the Roman in the ninth century. The latter, it would seem, was unknown there in the sixth. "The Spanish liturgy," says Palmer, in his 'Origines Liturgicæ,' i. 166, "was abolished in Aragon about A.D. 1060, in the reign of Ramiro I., but it was not for some time after relinquished in Navarre, Castile and Leon. Gregory VII. of Rome wrote to Alphonso VI., King of Castile and Leon, and to Sancho IV., King of Navarre, A.D. 1074, and made the greatest exertions to have the ancient liturgy abolished in Spain, giving as his reason that it contained certain things contrary to the Catholic faith." The Spanish Christians who lived under the Arab dominion, and mixed with Arabs, were called *Mozárabes*, because, say some, *Musa* in Arabic signifies Christian. Others consider they were so called from the Arab Chief Muza, who subdued some parts of Spain (Du Cange's 'Glossarium,' art. "Mosarabes"). Neither of these derivations is to me satisfactory. See Ticknor's 'Hist. of Spanish Lit.' iii. 393.

day. Then Alfonso VI.¹ insisted on an appeal to the judgment of God, and the two books were thrown into a fire, in which the Roman was consumed, and its competitor lay untouched. But the ashes of the former curled on the flame-tops, and leaped from the pyre. The monarch construed the incident to mean that though the Mozarabic ritual might remain in the six churches of Toledo, it was the Divine will that the other was to be used in the rest of the kingdom.² In time the old liturgy was dropped in Toledo, as in other places, and Rome remained triumphant. From the eleventh century downwards, such high notions of the papal supremacy were introduced into the Peninsula, that ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not only wrested from the crown, but all crowns were declared by the more zealous churchmen to depend on the will of the pontiff.³

Juán I. of Aragon, in 1233, prohibited the use of vernacular versions of Scripture, and ordered any such to be delivered to the ecclesiastical authorities, that they might be burnt ; but Alfonso X. of Castile, a literary prince, author of works in prose and poetry, soon afterwards directed a translation of the inspired volume into the Castilian tongue, for the improvement of the language. It was executed for a literary rather than a religious purpose, and remained locked up in a royal library, where it may be seen still amongst the Escorial treasures. The prior of a Valencian monastery translated the Bible into Valencian in the year 1478, and this was intended for public use. Its preparation shows a spirit of reform before the Reformation ; but though the author was a Catholic his work was suppressed, and the whole of the impression was consigned to the flames. Scarcely a copy escaped.

¹ A.D. 1072-1109.

² This incident, related in different ways, gave rise to the proverb—"Allá van leyes, adonde quieren reyes" (Laws are things that follow kings). Spain is rich in proverbs : 'Don Quixote' is full of them.

³ Dunham's 'Hist. of Spain and Portugal' (Lardner's 'Cyclopædia'), iv. 49.

Other facts have to be recollected as bearing on the subject of the present volume, for they illustrate the moral and religious state of the nation, showing how much it needed the efforts of reformers in the sixteenth century.

It is almost superfluous to notice popular ignorance and superstition, because they were only signs of degeneracy shared by Spain in common with other European countries. The comparative measures of such evils it is difficult to determine; but it is not unfair to say that Spain lay at the bottom of the scale. Dense ignorance of course produced dense superstition; and some of the less-noticed forms in which it appeared may be appropriately mentioned.

Facts were overlaid with all kinds of fictions. The Spanish life of 'Our Lady St. Mary of Egypt' is full of fables. In an early poem her story is told in fourteen hundred monkish verses, and incidents are related "rejected as apocryphal, or at least as unfit to be repeated."¹ But 'The Adoration of the Kings,' overlaying the simple Scripture story of the Magi, is a more striking example still, for it relates an arrest of the Holy Family by a band of robbers, and also the cure of a child by the water in which the Holy Infant had been washed. The child is represented as no other than the penitent thief. The mischief was, that people delighted more in these stories than in the New Testament narratives, of which they knew but little. The "Poema de José," a childish ballad, not without touches of true feeling, contains strange inventions of incident in the life of Jacob's favourite son, including a conversation carried on by a wolf, brought by his brethren to their father in proof of his beloved son being slain.²

I may notice in passing the divorce of devotion from morality as another important fact. The habits of the clergy illustrate this separation, and it is strikingly exemplified in the writings of Juan

¹ Ticknor, i. 25.

² Ticknor, i. 88.

Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, as he is called. His own tastes and habits are clearly manifested. His discreditable love affairs are boldly exposed, and he relates a fiction respecting Doña Venus, the wife of Don Amor. After indulging in a tone of story-telling ill suited to a priest, he adds, as if in the way of penance, some religious cautions and rebukes. Perhaps the most flagrant displays of united immorality and religion are found in the compositions of Berceo, the oldest known Castilian poet. His aim is to do homage to the Virgin, whom he styles "the glorious," and he relates, as in her honour, how she interposed on behalf of a thief, whom she kept alive as he swung on the gallows, because he was one of her votaries.

The exaltation of chivalry to Divine honours was another characteristic of the poetry of Spain. Even as late as 1554, five years before the horrible *autos de fé* occurred at Valladolid and Seville, a poem was published under the title of 'Celestial Chivalry.' Christ is called the Knight of the Lion; the twelve Apostles are Knights of His Round Table; John the Baptist is Knight of the Desert, and Lucifer is Knight of the Serpent. Everything is "forced into the forms of a strange and revolting allegory."¹ With the literary merits or demerits of the production, I have nothing to do. I only refer to it as showing how the country was steeped to the lips in a wild fancy, which dyed the nation deep with an idea that chivalrous pursuits formed the noblest attributes of religion.² Glorifications of Spain accompanied these extravagances, and national pride was mistaken for piety. The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella encouraged and increased this temper. The victories they won over the Moors, the recovery of lands long polluted by Saracen footsteps, the transformation of mosques into churches, and the union of the conquering crowns of Castile and Aragon

¹ Ticknor, i. 221. The immoral tone of Spanish Catholicism was but too faithfully continued after the period of the Reformation.

² Ticknor, i. 221.

on the heads of the two sovereigns,¹ raised popular enthusiasm to the highest pitch—an enthusiasm prolonged under later reigns, which served to gather round a throne sprinkled with the blood of Protestant martyrs the sympathies of a misguided people.

Finally, with regard to facts such as prepared for the persecution of heresy, reference may be made to the hatred in which its guilt and consequences were held in mediæval times. Dante places heretics in hell, lower down than the sensual, the prodigal, and the avaricious. They occupy

On every part, wide-stretching space,
Replete with bitters, pain and torment ill.

'Midst the graves were scattered flames,
Wherewith intensely all throughout they burned,
That iron for no craft there hotter needs.
Their lids all hung suspended ; and beneath
From them forth issued lamentable moans,
Such as the sad and tortured well might raise.²

Spain was not behind Italy in horror of heresy ; and the fires of the Inquisition seemed meet preparation for the abyss of fire in the world to come.

Soon after the death of Ferdinand, who survived his wife, and died in 1516, the Protestant Reformation began. The need of a Reformation in Spain was obvious, and traces of the way in which it was attempted will be seen as I proceed ; in the meanwhile reasons may be assigned why Protestantism did not succeed there as in other countries.

I mention first the maxim which lay at the basis of Spanish policy : it was, that error is to be suppressed by force.³ Hatred of

¹ It is to be remembered that Castile, Leon and Aragon had at one time been distinct kingdoms. Barcelona also had been a territory by itself. Navarre and Portugal, added to these, made up the Catholic portion of the Peninsula in the Middle Ages.

² 'Inferno,' Canto IX. 109, *et seq.*

³ The doctrine of suppressing heresy by physical force, though developed to an



FERDINAND OF SPAIN.

heresy was manifested at Toledo in the fifteenth century by frescoes

unexampled degree by the Spaniards, did not originate with them. The code of the Visigoths enacted that a persistent heretic should be delivered to the secular arm—that, if a layman, he should be banished ; if a preacher he should be burnt.—Dunham, ‘Hist. of Spain and Portugal,’ iv. 144. In the ‘*Decretum Divi Gratiani*,’ the great canonical law book, Edit. Lugduni, 1554 (p. 936), the doctrine is recognised, and Matt. v. 29, *et seq.*, is cited in support of it. Of course the Church was only to excommunicate, and then hand over the heretic to the secular power.

on the cloister walls depicting heretics in the fire. The wars of Christians against Moors proceeded on this principle.¹ No doubt the temptations of spoil, the glory of conquest, and the desire of dominion contributed to deepen military enthusiasm in the



ISABELLA.

helmeted cavalier, as in the turbaned Moor ; but he mainly thought of the religion he was pledged to support, and the religion he wished

¹ Hatred of the Moors, and the persecution of them, however, did not prevail until a period later than that of the early Ballad Literature, where we find them spoken of as gentlemen,

“Caballeros Granadinos, aunque Moros.”

to destroy. The hosts which overthrew the kingdom of Granada were as much Crusaders as the Red Cross knights. Their victory would be to them the glory of Christ, their vanquishment a dishonour to Christianity. Toledo blades were unsheathed in the service of the Church, and wounds received became marks of martyrdom. It is difficult for us to estimate the sentiment which throbbed in Castilian and Aragonese soldiers. Argument was too good to silence Moorish dogs. It was wise and right, approved of men and blessed of God, to stamp out unbelief in blood and fire. So thought the knights of Spain. The Crusades against the Albigenses had the same origin. Battles fought by Simon de Montfort in Languedoc, the horrors attendant on the storming of Béziers, and the Dominican Inquisition of contemporary date, arose from a like principle. Dominic, in his own day celebrated for devotion, was afterwards canonized, though the suffering he inflicted surpasses description and almost exceeds belief. The glory of God was the motto of the founder; it was no less the motto of all his followers. The New Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella had the same aim and end as the old one. The code adopted was intended to find out every Spanish heretic in existence, and to bring him before the Church's judgment-seat. Yet the Holy Office has been thus described: "The Church, who is the mother of mercy and the fountain of charity, content with the imposition of penances, generously accords life to many who do not deserve it. Whilst those who persist obstinately in their errors, after being imprisoned on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, she causes to be put to the torture and condemned to the flames; some miserably perish bemoaning their errors and invoking the name of Christ, while others call upon that of Moses." (The writer alludes here to Jewish victims.) "Many again who sincerely repent, she, notwithstanding the heinousness of their transgressions, *merely sentences to perpetual imprisonment.*" "Such," adds Prescott, after quoting these words in his 'History of the Reign of Ferdinand

and Isabella,¹ "such were the tender mercies of the Spanish Inquisition." All the laws against Jews and heretics breathed the same spirit; and the Inquisition, instead of being, as Dr. M'Crie thinks, in some degree a contrast to earlier criminal proceedings against heretics, only resembled what had gone before. Milman justly remarks, when speaking of the later Middle Ages: "The laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecution of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry."² That judgment is endorsed by a Spanish historian who appeals to the Councils of Toledo as "prescribing punishments against idolaters, Jews and heretics."³

The treatment of Moriscos, as the Spanish Arabs christianized after a fashion came to be called in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, is another case in point. Moriscos were not to be trusted. "Trust not a proselyte," it is said by an old Rabbi, "till twenty-four generations, for he holds his leaven." In like manner Spanish Catholics distrusted Moorish converts made by force. The old leaven was thought to remain; everything possible was done to get it out. Moors and Jews were the earliest victims of Spanish Inquisitional cruelty; then the Holy Office, so called, managed to bring all sorts of people under its power, and it must be carefully borne in mind that those whom I describe as Reformers constituted but a *small part* of the enormous number sacrificed to the vengeance of the Spanish Church. None but thorough Catholics could be trusted. Intolerance was the Church's law, and the power of the hierarchy was supreme. Even kings bowed down before priests, and no sovereign could be acknowledged who did not hold the pure faith—the judges of purity of course being churchmen. The old era of ecclesiastical ascendancy has excited admiration even in modern times, and so late as 1857, a Bishop of Barcelona applauded the fathers of Toledo, as erecting a wall of brass against

¹ Vol. i. 264.

² 'Latin Christianity,' i. 380.

³ 'Lafuenta,' quoted by Buckle, 'Hist. of Civilization,' ii. 438.

the inroads of error, because there existed perfect concord between Church and State.¹ The Supreme Council, under Ferdinand and Isabella, was, at their request, to include lay members nominated by the Crown; but the Church took care, while conceding something to the royal wish, that preponderating power should be lodged in clerical hands. An intolerant Church was in the ascendant, and popular opinion went along with it.

This leads to the notice of another obstacle in the way of religious reform, namely the superstitious loyalty of the people. So devoted were they to the sovereign, that his will gave the highest sanction, next to that of the Church; and when he and the Church concurred, the union was irresistible. Catholic princes sympathizing with the hierarchy, largely contributed to make Spanish reformation hopeless on any extensive scale. Veneration for the monarch was carried to such an extent as to be truly absurd. Good or bad, he was the popular idol; and, as Clarendon says,² submissive reverence to these princes was a vital part of the Spaniard's religion. Whatever his Majesty touched became sacred, and no one might mount a horse on which he once rode. From the time of the Cid, when the Chronicles were written, down to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, a strain of extravagant loyalty ran through Spanish ballads; and when those rulers had raised the kingdom to its highest glory, the sentiment was expressed with augmented enthusiasm. Nor when it lost all sense of propriety did it diminish in adulation; for under Philip II. and other princes—the very worst that ever encumbered a throne—the people bowed down to their behests as though they had been the Vicegerents of Heaven. There were parliaments in Spain, and there was political liberty within certain limits; but they form a faint resemblance to what obtained in England in the fourteenth century.

¹ The original passage is quoted by Buckle, ii. 437.

² 'Hist. of the Rebellion,' p. 15.

A further circumstance operating in the same direction was an unnatural indifference to physical suffering. It is to be observed, that in the 'Las Siete Partidas,' the Code of Alfonso, it is said, "The caballero should be cruel, and accustomed to wound, lest he should show mercy to the enemy."¹ To shrink from witnessing or inflicting pain was deemed unmanly. Powers of endurance produced by the chivalry of the mediæval period are astonishing. Hunger, thirst, fatigue, diseases, wounds and tortures, the knights would bear with the apathy attributed to Red Indians. And as they extinguished sensibility in themselves, so they showed an absence of pity for others. They could burn the peasants' dwellings without remorse, slay wives and orphans without compunction, and gaze unmoved upon death and desolation, such as one might suppose would move hearts of stone. Queen Isabella exhibited almost incredible heroism and self-sacrifice; when clothed in armour and leading her hosts, she kept in the saddle till nature was exhausted. The privations she uncomplainingly accepted, when flying from place to place, may seem to some romantic inventions. No wonder that the stoicism she displayed was accompanied by a sternness towards Moors and Jews quite out of harmony with the other traits of her character. Bull-fights moved her compassion, and she would have been glad to abolish such spectacles, and since that was impossible, she devised a plan for guarding the horns of the animals, so as to prevent the laceration of horses and men. But in carrying out a policy of persecution towards Moriscos, Israelites and heretics, indifference to pain in others as in herself dried up all the springs of compassion; and in the fierce citizens of Seville, Valladolid and other cities, under Philip II., the same temperament held full sway, as they witnessed holocausts from time to time at the shrine of a merciless orthodoxy. Tears were shed, sighs were heaved, loud murmurs rose amongst Londoners who gazed on Smithfield fires; not so was it with such crowds as

¹ Dunham's 'Hist. of Spain and Portugal,' iv. 53.

witnessed scenes to be described in some of the following chapters.

I must mention the prevalent demoralization of the clergy. It would be unreasonable to maintain that there were few, if any, good men amongst them in the sixteenth century ; yet it cannot be denied that the general condition of the priesthood at that period was deplorable. A number at the time exposed the carelessness with which their brethren lived, the vices in which they indulged, and the low ebb to which the estimate of their character had sunk. But though clerical scandals were confessed, and rendered a reformation urgently needful, the prevalence of these scandals equally demonstrated the difficulties with which Reformers had to contend, and the virulent opposition they were sure to meet with. The greater the evils to be overcome, the more numerous the enemies to be attacked, the less hope of victory existed on the side of a little band valiant for truth and righteousness.

Also we may take into account the nature of the Spanish race, which combines heterogeneous elements—Gothic, Moorish, French, as well as Castilian and Aragonese. The result of the amalgamation is apparent in the qualities of the people as seen in the present day. Brave, proud, reserved ; yet under certain circumstances kind and generous, the bulk of them differ widely from other Europeans. They lag behind in the march of improvement. Their civilization is incomplete, and strangely contrasts with that of England, Germany, Italy and France. They have an immobility of character visible in manifold ways. They are conservative to the backbone ; they hate change ; old habits are unconquerable ; they cling to the past with unparalleled tenacity. Everything in Spain is stereotyped ; political and social reformers find it tremendously difficult to innovate upon cherished traditions and prejudices. That which operates now operated three hundred years ago. It raised an obstacle which

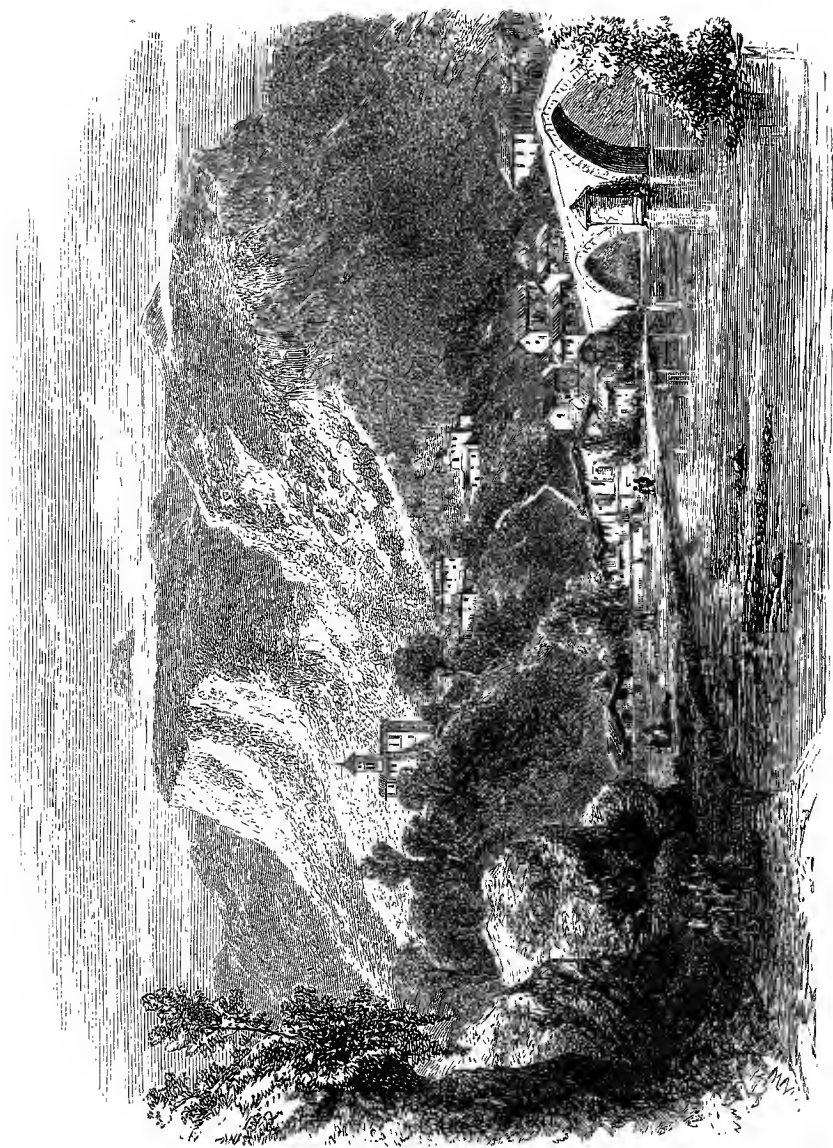
a few brave men and women in their noble aspirations found it impossible to surmount.

When we have analyzed all the facts recorded in history, and have put together what serves to explain, so far as secondary causes are concerned, how it was that the Reformation failed in Spain, there is a residuum at the bottom of the crucible, as in many other cases, which must ever defy our attempts at explanation. Why the destiny of the movement in Spain was so different from that of the movement in England remains amongst the inscrutable mysteries of Providence.

CHAPTER I.

ALCALÁ DE HENARES.

THE most common way of entering Spain is across the river Bidassoa. So I entered it twenty-three years ago, when spending a summer holiday amidst the scenery of the Pyrenees. There was then no railway further than Bayonne, whence travellers had to proceed by diligence to San Sebastian, and thence onward to Madrid—a long, tedious, and for the most part dreary journey. Immediately after crossing the border, I found the country rich and fertile, with well-laden orchards, and abundant maize fields, bushy hedges by the wayside, and glorious mountain views to the south and east. From the banquette of the lumbering vehicle, wide and cheerful glimpses of the country were easily caught, the manners and customs of the people could be noticed; picturesque Spanish costumes were still in fashion, and on entering the town of San Sebastian, bordering its beautiful bay, the transition into Spain was unmistakable. The streets and the people, the mantillas of the ladies and the long rolled-up hats of the priests, struck the stranger in a moment, and made him feel he was in a new country; but now railway speed, modern innovation, changing costumes, and the Frenchified and extremely handsome appearance of the formerly old-fashioned Basque frontier, efface the contrast between the two countries, and you cannot tell where France ends and Spain begins. I was struck this last spring with the difference between 1859 and 1883; but the country as you go south indicates little improvement in agriculture and general



VILLARONA, NEAR SAN SEBASTIAN.

civilization. But once for all I may observe that whatever may be still the discomforts of Spanish travelling, they are wonderfully diminished during the last twenty years.

Burgos was and is the first chief halting-place on the way to Madrid; the railway commands so good a view of the city, that the noble cathedral, with its glorious towers, and the picturesque gateway just over the bridge, impress the imagination of the beholder so as to make it impossible they should ever be forgotten. Burgos, except as the birth-place of certain Protestants I shall have to describe, does not come within the lines of our history; but I must in passing remark, that to any one who has a taste for architecture, his entrance into Burgos Cathedral, and the first sight of its marvels in building and sculpture, marks an era in his life.

From Burgos to Valladolid there is little worth looking at, and Valladolid is quite a different city from Burgos, with nothing to detain the lover of the picturesque; it is, however, full of associations connected with the subject of this volume. These, however, for chronological reasons, I must defer noticing for the present, and hurry on to Madrid, the capital and centre of Spain, whence we shall make numerous historical excursions, before we rest there for a while to look at it in connection with Philip II. and his successors.

The first place I select, on chronological grounds, is Alcalá de Henares.

Alcalá de Henares is about twenty miles from Madrid, and may be reached by the railway to Zaragoza. The old city bore the name of Complutum, or Compluvium, from a confluence of rivers close to it. It prospered under the archbishops of Toledo, one of whom, Tenorio, built a bridge and a wall in the year 1389; but he who belongs to our history, and who, above all others conferred on Alcalá its renown, was Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros. He was born in 1436, and entered the order of Franciscan Friars at the age of forty-six. The story of his life is truly

romantic. No sooner had he renounced the world than he made the hard ground his bed, and a billet of wood his pillow. His shirt was of haircloth, and he wore himself down by fasts, vigils and self-inflicted stripes. In the chestnut wood of our Lady of Castañar, in which a convent rose amidst mountain solitudes, he built with his



XIMENES.

own hands a hermitage, so small that he had to creep into it. Here he subsisted on herbs, and drank of the brooks, barely keeping body and soul together ; but spiritual fervour raised him above physical privation, and we are assured by Fléchier, his admiring biographer, that in after life, when far differently circum-

stanced, he looked with regret on his experiences at the Castañar hermitage. When in 1492 Isabella needed a confessor in Cardinal Mendoza's room, she selected by his advice this wonderful anchorite, who had by that time been transferred to the Convent of Salzeda. With a dignity of demeanour natural to a man of his character, he entered the royal presence unabashed, and soon won the confidence of his sovereign. He became the keeper of her conscience, and, at the time, he is described as resembling one of the anchorites of the desert. Passing through other dignities, he rose to the archbishopric of Toledo and the primacy of Spain, and in 1507 was created a cardinal. His asceticism amidst the luxuries of a court was combined with military enterprise and command; and, like the bishops of Durham, he entered the battle-field at the head of an army, and signalized his career by the capture of cities.

In the early part of his episcopate he comes before us as an ecclesiastical reformer. Many who were Catholics saw and acknowledged scandals which weakened the Church, and Ximenes was of the number. His royal mistress sympathized with him in this respect. But reform was no easy task, and the queen and primate together could not accomplish what they desired. They improved the moral condition of the monasteries; but, in one instance at least, monks who were ejected for disgraceful conduct marched out of the abbey gate as if they were martyrs, lifting up the crucifix and chanting the Psalm 'In exitu Israel.' Ximenes deplored the state of the clergy in his own diocese; but his efforts to restore among them the rule of St. Augustine were met by cunning intrigue and bold resistance. The Franciscans, to whose brotherhood he belonged, gave him immense trouble, and the General of the order, who came over from Rome to protect the accused friars, gained support even from the queen. The archbishop addressed her in a tone of violent expostulation, till the lady asked whether he knew whom he was addressing. "Yes,"

said he, "the Queen of Castile, a mere handful of dust like myself." This man was made of the same mettle as Thomas of Canterbury, and he so overawed his sovereign, as to gain her assurance that she would help him to carry out all practicable reforms. They were of a searching kind, and he pressed the execution of monastic rules to an extreme point; but the habits of monks, friars and clergy had become so dissolute, that it was more than the sovereign and the archprelate could accomplish to cleanse the stalls of the Augean stable. Amendments actually effected bore small proportion to the remaining evils.

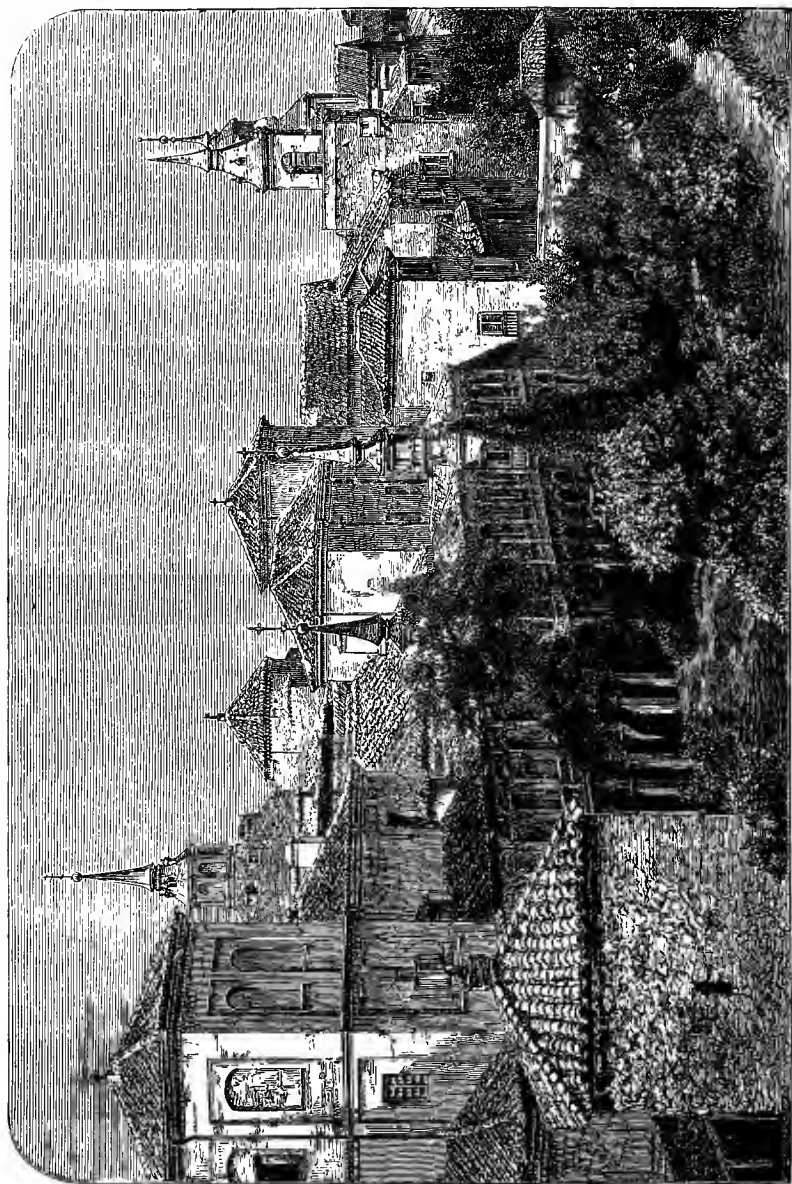
In support of his claims to be ranked amongst reformers, what he did in reference to the Mozarabic ritual¹ has been cited as an instance in proof. But an examination of the subject scarcely carries out the favourable opinion. In Toledo, thirteen Mozarabic priests were appointed to officiate; but the use of the Mozarabic Liturgy did not extend beyond the primate's own diocese, and he took care to have the ancient formulary so edited as to bring it into close conformity to the Catholic one.

Ximenes appears in the character both of ascetic and reformer, and he may be taken as a type of the best class of churchmen in his day; but it is as a zealous promoter of Biblical learning that he is to be honoured.

In the year 1497 he resolved to establish a new university at Alcalá. He employed an architect to prepare plans, and three years afterwards he laid the corner stone of his projected edifice. From that period the enterprise was ever uppermost in his mind, and "he might be frequently seen on the ground, with the rule in his hand, taking the admeasurements of the buildings, and stimulating the industry of the workmen with suitable rewards."² In eight years the main structure was completed, and Francis I., when he visited the spot after the cardinal's death, remarked, referring to the University of Paris, "Your Ximenes has executed

¹ See page 5 of this volume.

² Prescott's 'Ferdinand and Isabella,' ii. 447.



ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE AT ALCALÁ.

more than I should have dared to conceive ; he has done with a single hand what in France it has cost a line of kings to accomplish.”¹

In founding professorships he adopted the modern principle of payment for results, so far as to regulate the salary by the number of students, and he also made appointments determinable at the end of four years. He included the whole range of the arts and sciences, as then understood, within the lines of his curriculum ; and out of forty-two chairs, he devoted eight to logic, physics and metaphysics, four to ancient languages, four to rhetoric, six to grammar, six to canon law, four to medicine, two to anatomy and surgery, one to ethics, one to mathematics, and only six to theology proper. Among the professors were Demetrius Ducas and Nicetas Phaustus, two Greek natives, who, one may infer, were skilled in the knowledge of classical Greek, then beginning to be revived ; and also the Spanish Fernando Nuñez, of the Order of St. Jago, and called by his countrymen the Greek Commendator. This scholar wrote notes on the classics much praised by later critics, and also edited poems by Juan de Mena, his fellow-countryman.² The learned Antonio de Lebrixa, the Erasmus of Spain, a zealous promoter of the classical revival, and the publisher of works on Castilian, Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammars, read lectures at Alcalá, and because he dared to emend the Vulgate text he was suspected of heresy. Deza, Archbishop of Seville, persecuted him on this account, and the scholar defended himself with spirit, saying, “ If a person endeavour to restore the purity of the sacred text, and point out the mistakes which have vitiated it, unless he will retract his opinions, he must be loaded with infamy, excommunicated, and doomed to an ignominious punishment. Is it not enough that I submit my judgment to the will of Christ in the Scriptures? Must I also reject as false what is as clear and

¹ Prescott's ‘Ferdinand and Isabella,’ ii. 448.

² M'Crie, ‘Hist. of Ref. in Spain,’ p. 64.

evident as the light of truth itself? What tyranny!"¹ Cardinal Ximenes, as founder of the university, has been compared to Cardinal Wolsey, the founder of Christ Church at Oxford, and so far as the munificence of their endowments is concerned a resemblance exists; but in habits and character the two men were very different from each other. The university became full of students, and when Francis I. visited it, within twenty years of the opening, no less than seven thousand came out to welcome his Majesty.

The University of Alcalá is connected with the Reformation in two ways. First, Pedro de Lerma, who was chancellor, and occupied the chair of theology, was reported to the Inquisition, sitting at Toledo, as tainted with the Lutheran heresy, whereupon he fled in terror to the city of Paris. His nephew, Luis de Cadena, fell under the same condemnation.² Juan de Vergara, Canon of Toledo and Secretary to Ximenes, also one of the Polyglott editors who had pointed out faults in the Vulgate, and his brother Bernardin Tobar, were apprehended, and arraigned before the same tribunal. Erasmus compared the three to the giant Gorgon with three bodies, and prophesied that they would win victories—which were never accomplished.³ Thrown into dismal dungeons, they were kept there until they had abjured Lutheran tenets, and submitting to penance received absolution. News of this occurrence reached Erasmus, and Juan Luis Vives, writing to that scholar, remarked, "We live in troubled times, and cannot speak but at our peril. They have arrested Vergara with his brother Tobar, and many other learned men."⁴ Secondly, students trained up in the university afterwards distinguished themselves amongst Spanish Reformers, especially Juan Valdés,⁵ and Juan Gil, commonly called Doctor Egidius; of both I shall have much to say.

¹ Quoted by Llorente, 'Hist. de l'Inquisition,' i. 344. ² Llorente, ii. 430, 454.

³ Epist. lib. xx. ep. 15.

⁴ Quoted by Llorente, ii. 8.

⁵ M'Crie, I think with probability, judges from his intimacy with students there, that he had been at Alcalá. 'Hist.' p. 141.

It is interesting to add that Cervantes was born and educated at Alcalá, and in his 'Don Quixote' alludes to the burial and enchantment of Muzaraque the Moor, on the hill of Zulema, "just as he had probably heard it in a nursery story;" and in his pastoral entitled 'Galatea,' he mentions the banks of the famous Henares ("las riberas del famoso Henares"), where stood his revered Alma Mater.

The great work which Ximenes accomplished, and which more than any other act of his life brings him near the domain of the Reformation, was what he did for the Complutensian Polyglott, so called from the name Complutum attached to the city of Alcalá. He walked in the steps of the great Origen by bringing the Scriptures in different languages side by side. He had the use of the Vatican Library. Copies of MSS. were made for him in several countries. Old synagogues rendered up their precious treasures. Seven thousand gold crowns were paid for MSS. which came too late for editorial use. Nine scholars were engaged in the compilation, and amongst them were the learned Nuñez, also Lopez de Zuñiga, an opponent of Erasmus, and the famous Greek, Demetrius Cretensis, "all thorough linguists, especially in the Greek and Latin."¹

Day by day the revisers, as we may call them, met at the close, to compare and criticize the results of their labour. "Lose no time," said the enthusiastic author of the undertaking, "Lose no time, my friends, in the prosecution of our glorious work, lest, in the casualties of life, you should lose your patron, or I have to lament the loss of those whose services are of more price in my eyes than wealth and worldly honours." The Polyglott fills six stately folios, four devoted to the Old Testament, one to the New, and another to a Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. Only 600 copies were printed. The type was cast in a foundry at Alcalá, and printers were brought

¹ Prescott, 'Ferdinand and Isabella,' ii. 453.

from Germany to work the press. A copy, originally published at six ducats and a half, fetched some years ago sixty-three pounds.¹

Wetstein attacked the Greek text, as being corrupted from the Latin version ; but Michaelis, far from pronouncing it immaculate, did not believe that the Vulgate had an appreciable effect on the readings. The learned Dr. Scrivener, who has paid considerable attention to the subject, informs us that in no less than 849 instances the Latin is at variance with the Greek.²

"Professor Moldenhauer of Germany visited Alcalá in 1784, for the interesting purpose of examining the MSS. used in the Complutensian Polyglott. He there learned that they had been disposed of as so much waste paper, by the librarian of that time to a rocket maker of the town, who soon worked them up in the regular way of his vocation. He assigns no reason for doubting the truth of the story. The name of the librarian, unfortunately, is not recorded. It would have been as imperishable as that of Omar."³

The labours of Ximenes deserve cordial appreciation from the lovers of Biblical literature. The toil and expense of his under-

¹ Mallinkrot and Le Long have both preserved the interesting anecdote which is related by his first biographer, Alvaro Gomez, concerning the completion of the Polyglott. "I have often heard John Brocarius (says Gomez), son of Arnoldus Brocarius, who printed the Polyglott, tell his friends, that when his father had put the finishing stroke to the last volume, he deputed him to carry it to the cardinal. John Brocarius was then a lad, and having dressed himself in an elegant suit of clothes, he gravely approached Ximenes, and delivered the volume into his hands. 'I render thanks to Thee, O God,' exclaimed the cardinal, 'that Thou hast protracted my life to the completion of these Biblical labours.' Afterwards, when conversing with his friends, Ximenes would often observe, that the surmounting of the various difficulties of his political situation did not afford him half the satisfaction which he experienced from the finishing of his Polyglott. He died in the year 1517, not many weeks after the last volume was published."—Dibdin's '*Bibliomania*,' p. 160. Prescott tells the same story on the same authority, ii. 454.

² 'Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,' 2nd edition, p. 379.

³ Prescott, ii. 454.

taking was great beyond any fair estimate of a similar work in the present day. Thousands of sympathizers can be found now to hail such a work with enthusiasm ; but then there were few indeed who cared for what was done, whilst the majority of his Spanish contemporaries would regard it with more or less suspicion. The appliances of modern criticism were beyond reach, and the difficulties of copying and collation were immensely great. So much the more credit is due to the pains and diligence requisite for the achievement of the task. The book found a place in the libraries of Reformers. Erasmus hailed its arrival in his study. It was perused and pondered carefully by Protestant Biblical scholars. Stephanus and Beza employed it in their editions. It was the precursor of Walton's Polyglott. It headed a procession of noble works to which additions have been made in our day. Bagster's popular and handy Polyglotts come in the wake of Ximenes' portly Complutensian. What the cardinal did, really contributed to the production of learned editions of God's Holy Word ever since. Unconsciously he was providing materials for the use of Protestant Reformers.

Unconsciously—for it was the last thing in the world he wished to do. He was a scholar, and felt reverence for the Bible ; but he was a bigot and a persecutor, and these baneful qualities overmastered his better dispositions and desires.

He united with political office—for he was in fact Prime Minister—the odious functions of Grand Inquisitor. Over the Inquisition, as revived by Ferdinand and Isabella, he presided. He enlarged its limits. The king, pressed by pecuniary difficulties, would have accepted from some victims a pecuniary compensation for their offences ; but Ximenes persuaded him not to accept the offer by providing him with money out of his own resources. Again, when Charles V. was disposed to let off heretics by the payment of a fine, the cardinal used his influence to overcome the disposition. “ He, too it was who arranged the jurisdiction of the

tribunals of the Inquisition in the different provinces, setting them in deeper and more solid foundations ; and finally it was this master spirit of his time who first carried the Inquisition beyond the limits of Spain, establishing it in Oran, which was his personal conquest, and in the Canaries and Cuba, where he made provident arrangements, by virtue of which it was subsequently extended throughout Spanish America. Yet (strange to say), before he wielded the power of the Inquisition he opposed its establishment. Llorente, indeed, contends that it is an error into which many writers fall, to accuse Ximenes of having had a part in the creation of the tribunal, inasmuch as he concerted with Cardinal Mendoza, and with Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, to prevent its establishment."¹ But when it had been royally founded he was determined to keep its government as far as possible in clerical hands, and objected to a Spanish grandee and a counsellor of Castile being made a counsellor of the Inquisition, on the ground that he was a layman. He also showed how open he was to the common prejudices of men in office, by dismissing from the secretaryship of the council one who for years had been private secretary to the king with credit and honour.²

In harmony with his intolerance was his discouragement of Arabic studies. It was proposed to convert the Moors by instructing them in the knowledge of Christianity, and for this an Arabic catechism and a form of worship were drawn up. Arabic translations of the Gospels and Epistles were made ; but all this Ximenes condemned. An appeal was made to St. Paul, who said he had rather speak five words with his understanding than ten thousand in an unknown tongue ; to which Ximenes replied, that the appeal must be made to Peter, not Paul, that to put the sacred oracles into the hands of Moors, just brought within the pale of the Church, was to cast pearls before swine. Nor would he trust the Bible in the hands of Spaniards, who boasted that they had the purest

¹ Ticknor, i. 424. ² Llorente, '*Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*,' i. 360.

blood. "Catechisms, solid and simple explanations of Christian doctrine, and other writings calculated to enlighten the minds of the people," says the admiring Fléchier, "he was willing to have circulated." "The Word of God should be wrapped in discreet mysteries from the vulgar, who feel little reverence for what is plain and obvious." "The Scriptures should be confined to the three ancient languages which God with mystic import permitted to be inscribed over the head of His crucified Son; and the vernacular should be reserved for such devotional and moral treatises as holy men indite, in order to quicken the soul, and turn it from the pursuit of worldly vanities to heavenly contemplation." These words of the biographer of Ximenes explain the point of view from which Roman Catholics, especially the Spanish, contemplated the work in which Protestant Reformers were then engaged. On this ground, as elsewhere, the battle was fought between Pöpery and the Reformation. The books promised as substitutes for Scripture were Letters of St. Catherine, St. Angela, St. Matilda, the Instructions of St. Vincent, the Meditations of Landulpho, a Carthusian monk, and the Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Ximenes condemned vernacular translations of the sacred volume.

Nor had he any more mercy on Arabic books than on Scripture translations. He heaped up piles of MSS., including copies of the Koran, in one of the squares of Granada, and made a bonfire of the whole mass, though some of the treasures destroyed were exquisitely written and splendidly bound. "This memorable *auto de fé*," writes Mr. Prescott, "it will be recollected, was celebrated, not by an unlettered barbarian, but by a cultivated prelate, who was, at that very time, actively employing his large revenues in the publication of the most stupendous literary work of the age, and in the endowment of the most learned university in Spain. It took place not in the darkness of the Middle Ages, but in the dawn of the sixteenth century, and in the midst of an

enlightened nation, deeply indebted for its own progress to these very stores of Arabian wisdom."¹

Ximenes makes a grand figure in the political and ecclesiastical history of Spain ; and it has cast curious shadows over the legends of the people. Sentinels watching on battlements where he had now a victory fancied they saw the martial friar in Franciscan dress, and wearing a cardinal's hat, sometimes on foot, and sometimes mounted on a white horse. As late as the year 1643, when Oran was besieged by the Algerines, he hailed a soldier, terrified by his ghostly appearance : " Tell the garrison to be of good heart, for the enemy shall not prevail against you."²

The cardinal died in 1517, recommending his university to the patronage of Charles V. The last words he uttered were, " In te, Domine, speravi " (In Thee, Lord, have I hoped). His body was dressed in the robes of an archbishop, and placed in a chair of state. When kneeling before it, crowds kissed the hands and feet of the cardinal's corpse. Carried to Alcalá, it was interred in the Chapel of Ildefonso.

¹ Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 125.

² Ibid. 335-340.

CHAPTER II.

PROTESTANT BOOKS PROHIBITED IN SPAIN.

THE first book printed in Spain of which I find any trace was finished at Barcelona on the 9th of October, 1468.¹ It is a small Grammar, consisting of fifty leaves, and the only copy of it known to exist is preserved, we are informed by Mr. Ticknor, in the Trinitarios Descalzos of Vich—a cathedral city of Catalonia. A second and more important publication consists of verses presented in 1474 at a poetical contest—a sort of literary joust, common in the age of Cervantes and Lope de Vega; of this, as of the earlier volume just mentioned, only a single copy can be found.

Jealousy respecting literature had betrayed itself so early as the thirteenth century, when Alfonso X. of Castile published his ‘Las Siete Partidas,’ a Digest of Decretals and Codes of Law, which takes its name from the seven divisions of the work. It contains sundry rules and maxims, and provides that no book-sellers (*estacionarios*) in any university should sell books which the rector had not first examined and licensed.² Torquemada, the Inquisitor, kept a watchful eye over the world of letters; and, in 1490, burnt a number of Hebrew Bibles, because they had been prepared by Jews; and at Salamanca he destroyed six thousand volumes, because they were filled with magic and sorcery. In this business he acted by royal authority, and the control of the press

¹ It bears the colophon, “Finitur Barcynone nonis Octobris, anni a Nativitate Christi MCCCCLXVIII.”—Ticknor, i. 305.

² Ibid. i. 46, 421.

until 1521 remained in the hands of the *Oidores*, or Judges of the Higher Courts, licences for printing and circulating books being granted by royal authority. Spanish writers were anxious to obtain the favour of the sovereign, and also the sanction of the Church, so, in order to preserve their works from censure, they dedicated them to the Saviour and the saints; the more objectionable the book, the more anxious the author was to protect it after this fashion. As late as 1664, a translation of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' was dedicated to "la purissima Reyna de los angelos y hombres, Maria Santissima" (the most pure queen of angels and men, the most holy Mary). Cognizance of books on every subject was taken by the Inquisition, and the sanction of the Apostolical Inquisitor was sometimes added to the imperial licence.

No Protestant works proceeded from the Spanish press, but printers in other parts of the world were busy in producing books in support of the Reformation. England, France, Italy and Switzerland more or less contributed to swell the rising tide of anti-papal literature; but Germany took the lead in this bold enterprise, and from that quarter Spain looked with alarm upon heretical inroads threatening the Church's peace and security. Workmen at Bâle, in the shop of John Froben a noted typographer, and a friend of Erasmus, were busy in 1519 reprinting several of Luther's tracts, whose name was then beginning to be known all over Europe, through the story everywhere repeated of the Pope's bull being burnt by him at the gate of Wittenberg. The tracts were written in Latin; but the next year the Reformer's famous Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was translated into Spanish. In this commentary he brought out in the strongest language the impossibility of being saved by any works of law; at the same time he insisted on the doctrine of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus as the only way of salvation. Thus he tore up the popular system of human meritoriousness by the

very roots ; therefore he could not but become a terror to every priest wedded to penances, pilgrimages and works of supererogation. How all this would be regarded by the Inquisition may be easily imagined. Spanish translations of Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty, and his answer to Erasmus on the freedom of the will, followed not long afterwards. Luther's opinions on the subject were decidedly Augustinian, and so far they were in harmony with the doctrine of the Bishop of Hippo—a favourite Father among Dominican Friars, whilst some Franciscans leaned to Pelagian or semi-Pelagian views. Luther had come, through studying the Bible in the light of his own spiritual experience, to see things as no mere metaphysician, no mere scholastic dogmatist could ever do. "If I felt," he said, "that my salvation depended on my freedom of choice, I should be as one that beats the air. But since God has taken my salvation into His own hands, I am certain of His faithfulness and His promise. What an anxious life it would be if we could only comfort ourselves with the assurance of peace when we fulfilled the law—for who does that?"¹ The opinions of the Saxon monk, in the first instance, without doubt took their sharpest sting, not from his Augustinian views, but from his defiance of Rome and his opposition to the sale of indulgences. His conduct in these respects rendered his books hateful to the Spanish hierarchy, and accordingly, Pallavicini, in his '*History of the Council of Trent*,' remarks, that those in the Peninsula who procured such books "must have sprung from Moorish blood, for who would suspect the old Christians of Spain of such an action?" It must here be borne in mind that amongst Roman Catholics in different countries, some devout souls sympathized with Luther's Augustinian sentiments, and that others who looked at the whole question from a simply politic point of view desired to heal the breach opened in Germany. Even Don

¹ A thorough investigation of Luther's opinions, as well as the whole story of his life, according to the latest researches, will be found in Köstlin's '*Martin Luther*.'

Juán de Manuel, Spanish Ambassador at Rome, wrote, on the 12th of May, 1520, to his sovereign, Charles V., recommending him to take a journey into Germany, and there manifest some little favour to the formidable monk who had filled the Pontiff with such disquietude. "The monk," said the ambassador, "is deemed a great scholar, and creates embarrassment to the Holy Father;" and in another letter, written the 31st of the same month, he remarked, "as to affairs at Liege, the Pope appears much more discontented, because it is reported that the bishop favours Friar Martin, who in Germany speaks against pontifical power. He is also for the same reason indisposed towards Erasmus."¹ Now Charles V. was at that time in Spain, about four years after he had ascended the throne, and scarcely a year after he had been elected Emperor; hence he would have about him grandees of the court and bishops of the realm, to whom the communications from his envoy would be reported.

The Spaniards first charged with Reformed sentiments seem to have been Franciscans; for, in May, 1526, Clement VII. authorised the General and provincials of the order to summon before their tribunal those of the brotherhood who had embraced the new doctrine. A number of articles are specified—that it is not necessary to confess to a priest, that the true body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist, that prayer should not be offered to saints, nor images be placed in the churches, that there is no purgatory, and that it is useless to pray for the dead. Sacerdotalism, indulgences, clerical celibacy and monasticism were all condemned; and it is implied that such denials had spread amongst the laity, for all Catholic Christians were required to inform against those whom they knew to have defended the doctrines of Luther. At a later period, 1558, the opinions of persons designated *illuminati* are specified as consisting in the exaltation of mental prayer to the discredit of bodily service, and in a fanatical belief of perfection,

¹ Quoted by Llorente, i. 398.

and of an immediate action of the Holy Spirit on the soul. The description of such persons is probably, to some extent, inaccurate ; but it is not unlikely that mystical views of religion, often involving powerful experiences of spiritual truth, did at that time obtain amongst devout people, tired of the ceremonies of Romanism. We cannot help recognizing the influence of books, at that time secretly circulated amongst Spaniards, in the support, and indeed the inspiration of sentiments such as I have indicated.¹

The scent of Lutheran heresy was crossed by another of a different kind. Luther and Erasmus, though at first friends, now appeared as antagonists. Erasmus was more of a scholar than a theologian ; he was unimbued with Luther's spiritual sentiments ; he lamented the corruption of the Church, and sighed after reform ; but he was not ready to break with the Pope, and to unite in the coming battle between hostile camps. Several Spaniards who disliked Luther were drawn towards Erasmus. They admired his learning, wit and moderation, and hoped much from the circulation of his writings. Alfonso Fernandez, Archdeacon of Alcor, eulogized the 'Enchiridion,' and translated it into Spanish, declaring there was no other book of that age to be compared with it in point of circulation, since there was scarcely an individual in the emperor's court, the cities of the kingdom, a church, a convent, or an hotel, who had not a Spanish copy of the popular book. Erasmus had become a household name. This work was printed by Spanish authority in 1527, and the 'Colloquies' were licensed in 1532.

The 'Colloquies' had taken the learned world by storm, and were full of amusement as well as instruction. Pretending only to satirize abuses, the author represented the clergy as everywhere idle and corrupt. "No one who desired to render established institutions odious, could set about it in a shorter or a surer way ; and it would be strange if Erasmus had not done the Church more

¹ Llorente, ii. 1-4 ; see also 151, 215.

harm by such publications than he could compensate by a few sneers at Reformers in his private letters."¹ Other books written by the same author were sanctioned between 1520 and 1551. But if there were priests and laymen who admired the erudite Dutchman, others, especially some friars, manifested a mortal enmity against him.



ERASMUS.

The end of it was that whilst the 'Enchiridion' and some others retained the licence, the 'Colloquies' were struck out, and the 'Praise of Folly,' together with the 'Paraphrase of the New Testament,' were forbidden. The 'Praise of Folly,' replete with wit, was

¹ Hallam's 'Introduction to the Lit. of Europe,' i. 450.

intended to show how many fools there are in all the high places of Church and State; and, though the irony was keen, it is said that Leo X. could not help laughing over the pages. Erasmus's 'Paraphrase of the New Testament' was a scholarly production, grave and sensible, helping whilst it encouraged the study of the Scriptures; and it probably got amongst proscribed publications through the bad literary company it had to keep.

The 'Colloquies,' the 'Praise of Folly,' and 'The Paraphrase' were neither to be explained in schools nor sold in shops, nor read by any one. "How I am to be pitied!" wrote the sage. "The Lutherans attack me as a convicted Papist, the Catholics run me down as a Lutheran."¹ Still people got hold of the censured volumes, and still readers were persecuted by zealous friars. Maldonat, a counsellor of Charles V., wrote from the city of Burgos mentioning a Dominican who was zealous in hunting after monks that were getting on the forbidden ground. "He has acted," remarks this correspondent, "in the same way with certain intermeddling nuns, and with some noble women, who in this country have great influence over their husbands in what relates to religion." The letter takes us inside the Spanish convent, and inside the Spanish mansion, and shows us cowed brethren and high-born dames poring over the sparkling pages of this popular satirist. His productions were scattered over Europe in large editions, like modern novels, and stirred up inquiry where they did not produce conviction. Zealous churchmen watched the readers in private haunts, and were especially alarmed when they saw a noble dame thus employed, fearing lest she should lead astray her lord and master.

Searching after heretical books, and punishment inflicted on those who possessed them, went on with untiring diligence and unmitigated severity. The court of Rome assisted to the utmost the lords of the Inquisition. Sixtus IV., as early as February

¹ 'Epist. Erasmi.'

1483, had encouraged Isabella in her unnatural career of intolerance, assuring her of his earnest desire to see the Inquisition at work in Spain. The most infamous trickery followed this communication to the Catholic Queen. Through private influence and liberal bribes, some who had fallen into the clutches of the Holy Office procured papal interference to stop the proceedings carried on against them. Favours of that kind were sold for money ; and then, when royal authority at home was invoked by Inquisitors against spiritual authority abroad, the latter was base enough to suspend the execution of its own bulls, and to leave the victim of cruelty and deceit to a miserable fate. Leo X., a little while before the burning of his bull by the intrepid German Augustinian, trod in the footsteps of his predecessor Sixtus, and stimulated the Holy Office in Rome to call before them certain native Spaniards on charges of heresy. The Spanish ambassador remonstrated against this proceeding as an insult to the Catholic government of his master, and requested that all countries should be treated alike. The pontiff cunningly replied that he intended no dishonour, but on the contrary a deserved favour, doing as a rich man might with his jewels, taking care of the most precious amongst them, more than of other property less valuable.¹ Whether or not it was that the pope had a distrust of the holy fathers in Spain, he certainly, in 1521, sent briefs to the government, stirring them up to prevent the circulation of Lutheran books ; but the briefs were unnecessary, Spanish ecclesiastics being very well able to conduct their own affairs. Between 1521 and 1535 Spanish authorities issued decree after decree, the drift of all being that those who possessed books tainted with Lutheranism, and those who neglected to inform against people they knew concealed them, should be denounced and punished. But these proclamations left it uncertain as to what really were and what were not heretical. To meet the difficulty, Charles V., in 1539—

¹ Llórente, i. 239, *et seq.*

who was troubled enough just then with German affairs, and with quarrels about a general council—turned attention to his own dominions ; and, with the view of staying the spiritual plague which threatened both Spain and the Netherlands, he obtained from the University of Louvain a list of books which ought to be proscribed. The learned men in that city set to work to find out all the suspected volumes they could, and in 1546 presented to their royal master an ‘*Index Purgatorius*’—the first published in Spain, and the second known in other parts of the world. After 1550 no book could be sold or read without a certificate, and nothing printed that came from the north of the Pyrenees could pass that mountain chain without a licence. The ports were closed against their admission. No Spanish bookseller dared to open a bale of goods without the sanction of the Holy Office. Protestant Spanish works were pre-eminently odious, and were sought after with a lynx-eyed scrutiny.

It is impossible to compile a catalogue of books favourable to the Reformation which at that period found their way into Spain ; many besides those particularly mentioned as written by Erasmus, Luther and others, may have been secretly conveyed to readers thirsting for evangelical knowledge such as they had not before received. Nor is it easy to make out a full list of all the works written by Spaniards in support of Anti-Roman Catholic principles.

Philip II. went beyond his grandfather’s zeal. In 1557 he sought for heretical books printed in Spanish outside Spain, and moreover, in 1571, he issued an ‘*Index Expurgatorius*,’ which was not to be printed, or to be seen by anybody but a censor ; so that a person holding a forbidden book would not know that it was forbidden until he was detected and punished.¹

Books were burnt as well as human bodies ; some of the former not burnt were rigorously prohibited. Melancthon’s notes on grammatical treatises were suppressed. All works printed in

¹ Ticknor, i. 423.

Germany after the year 1519 without the authors' names were treated in the same way. A translation of Theophylact, by Ecolampadius, was to be seized wherever found, and like measure was to be meted out to a version of Chrysostom's works, by Wolfgang Musculus. Professors in Catholic colleges were required, under pain of excommunication, to deliver into the hands of commissaries of the Holy Office Hebrew and Greek Bibles in their possession. Inquiries were also to be made after Hebrew, Greek and Arabic volumes not sanctioned by the Holy Office.

The cordon which was drawn around the country seemed as if stupidly intended to keep the Protestant Reformation a *secret* in Spain. What was known and talked of all the world over was to be left undiscussed there ; and certainly it appears to have had this effect, that, with the exception of those who sought instruction on the subject from outside, comparatively few people troubled themselves about the matter at all. The literature of Spain in the fifteenth century bears few traces of what agitated the rest of Europe. In reading the works of Bouterwek, Sismondi and Ticknor, how little we meet with, indicative of inquisitiveness respecting the Reformation amongst the Spanish literati ! Scraps of poetry may be discovered comparing Luther to Arius and to Sabellius, and Calvin to Pelagius and Nestorius—a comparison betraying much ignorance—but Spanish culture remained almost untouched by theological information in reference to questions which then moved the world. The prohibition of Protestant books so far did the intended business effectually. What rocked other kingdoms to their base, and raised storms which agitated the master intellects of the race, left Spanish thought almost unruffled. Facts stated elsewhere in these pages sufficiently attest that spiritual truths found their way into many hearts, but the fact does not affect the representation I have made in relation to the world of letters.

So-called heretical works from other lands must have been conveyed into Spain by secret and ingenious methods. Plenty of



PASS IN THE PYRENEES, NEAR PERPIGNAN.

ships sailed from Antwerp to Cadiz, and captains, mariners and passengers might manage to carry, unknown to other people, some of the dumpy quartos and loose tracts that came from German presses. Into Spanish ports volumes might be smuggled; and even pedlars from France could hide amongst their goods heretical wares, and march with them over the mountains. As I think of my own climbing years ago, within sight of the Maldetta, and through gaps of cloud-covered walls of rock—and as I remember the road near Portbou, recently passed, where the Mediterranean washes mountain spurs and fills lovely bays, I fancy I see these colporteurs of the olden time toiling along with burdens on their backs.

A bookseller at Antwerp, one Peter Keller, informed the Netherland Inquisitors, that twice a year books were bought in Frankfort market for Spanish importation, and that there were book depôts at Medina del Campo and Seville. "Money," he said, "was sent from Spain for printing heretical works;" and he added, "when the Peninsula ports were no longer safe, volumes were sent over the Pyrenees to Aragon and Navarre."¹

Even from England, especially under Mary and Philip II., works by English Reformers might pass into the dominions of his father, for, says Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, "We have seen come to pass in our days, that the Spaniards sent for into the realm, on purpose to repress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion to which before they were utter enemies."

We have been informed what was accomplished in 1547 by one Julian Hernandez, a man renowned for his Lilliputian stature. He inserted within two large wine casks a curious contrivance for concealing Protestant books, and so conveyed his cargo as to elude the officers and lodge his stores in the city of Seville, whence

¹ Cited by Boehmer, 'Wiffeniana,' ii. 64.

they were dispersed in different directions. What was cleverly conveyed could be cleverly kept ; and tales told by John Foxe about schemes in London and elsewhere for the concealment of Bibles, are probably similar to many which three centuries ago were whispered under the rose, in the mansions and monasteries of Valladolid and Seville. As throughout that age, especially in the earlier days, most books of a Lutheran or Calvinistic cast would be in German, French or Latin, and only the well educated could read them, I apprehend they found their way chiefly into the cells of monks, or the chambers of accomplished ladies. It will be seen, as we proceed, that the Reformation advanced in Spain chiefly amongst the upper classes, and by them the imported books were most desired and most used.

The contrast between books favouring the Reformation and the literature produced by Spanish Catholics is very striking. I have noticed the separation of morality from religion in the latter. Poetry as well as daily habit placed rites and ceremonies in a position distinct from virtue and purity. A man who transgressed the laws of domestic fidelity might nevertheless, from punctilious regard for the Virgin, and attendance at mass, be esteemed an exemplary Christian. The moral tone of Lutheran volumes, and the daily conduct of Lutheran believers, were very different from Spanish ideas and traditions. Nothing is more remarkable than the union between morals and religion upheld in the literature of the German Reformation. Whatever inferences may be drawn from some of the unguarded statements of Martin Luther, whatever the Antinomian complexion plausibly though unjustly given to certain reasonings of his, nothing is more clear than the virtuous tone of his practical teaching. In that respect he was the furthest removed from what may be justly described as an Antinomian. His life was devoted to the inculcation of what constitutes an emphatic protest against the Spanish divorce of household rectitude from Church ceremonialism. Luther strove to purify Christian

homes, and by assigning a true place to marriage in the house of priest and peasant, to overcome temptations incident to enforced celibacy. He set up against the fictitious devotion of his own day the supremacy of faith, which works by love and purifies the heart : and the temper of his writings, in this respect, was diffused over the writings of his fellow-workers.

A further contrast appears, when we think of Spanish submission to Church authority on the one side, and Lutheran submission to Scripture authority on the other. The Spaniard was a slave to priests. They were to him expounders of Divine law—mediators between God and man. Lutheranism set aside such authority, and appealed directly to Holy Writ. “ Here I take my stand. God, help me ! ” were words which startled Charles V., whom we think of more as Emperor of Germany than as King of Spain. But in the latter capacity he caught the Reformer’s declaration as a deadly attack on the religion of his grandfather and grandmother, the religion of a long line of ancestors, the religion of Aragon and Castile. It was an assertion of independent conscientious thought against the claims of spiritual despotism ; and the difference between the ring of the two theologies must have struck every Spanish reader. To some it was an inexcusable offence ; to others it was an irresistible recommendation. Here, perhaps, in a few instances, the old current of Castilian freedom might come to aid the right of private judgment. People had in bygone days asserted the liberty of thinking for themselves in political matters ; why not now claim and exercise a similar liberty in religious ones ?

CHAPTER III.

CITY OF CUENCA AND THE TWO VALDÉS.

CUENCA lies midway between Madrid and Valencia, where two rivers meet, the Huecar and Jucar, which rush down from neighbouring heights, through defiles which are spanned by bridges, planted with poplars, and enlivened by water-mills. The city stands above picturesque scenery—composed of old walls, with here and there parish churches built between the towers. A cathedral erected by Alonso VIII., and nests of dilapidated houses, crown a romantic eminence, whence the eye looks across a fertile valley which spreads below. There are pleasant walks beside transparent streams. The leaves of aspens tremble overhead; timber beams resting on stone piers furnish a footway over brawling torrents; and “numerous gardens, filled with fine vegetables and fruit-trees, mantle luxuriantly the crags and stones.” Ford calls it “a happy *Rasselas* valley.”¹ In Cuenca, among the principal buildings, besides the cathedral, with a modernised façade fronting the plaza, there is the episcopal palace, entered by a mixed Gothic portal; also there is a Franciscan convent of the twelfth century. The narrow winding streets retain family mansions with stately armorial bearings over the doorways—now poor-looking enough, but reminding the visitor of former magnificence.

The city was a stronghold of the Moors, and semi-Moorish arches can be detected amidst the Ecclesiastical Gothic. A curious story is told of the manner in which the earlier was changed for

¹ Handbook, third edition.

the later rule. A Christian shepherd led out his Moorish master's *merinos* as if to pasture, but really to place them in the hands of Catholic neighbours, who killed the flock, and dressed themselves up in the skins, and crawled in on all fours; they were let into the city by a small postern gate, and took possession of the place, thus becoming the ancestors of hidalgo families, who raised it to opulence and renown. Cuenca is now poverty-stricken, with scarcely six thousand inhabitants, but, at the time of the Reformation, it was densely populated, and a thriving trade in wool was carried on within the walls.

There are in the neighbourhood fine stone quarries, out of which the cathedral cloisters were built in the last quarter of the sixteenth century; and jasper found in the district contributed to the enrichment of the cathedral chapels.

Twin brothers were born at Cuenca about the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century—the exact date cannot be ascertained. Their names were Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, and they were destined to appear in memorable connection with reformatory movements in Spain whilst they were still but young men. They sunk into oblivion soon after their death, and scarcely anything was correctly known about them for three hundred years. Mistaken, as since discovered, one for the other when children, they were confounded together as if they had been the same person, by writers not more than fifty years since. They emerged from their obscurity lately, through the researches of a pious Spaniard, Don Luis de Usoz y Rio, of a learned German, Dr. Boehmer, and of two intelligent and inquisitive Englishmen, Mr. B. B. Wiffen and Mr. Betts. Now an abundance of light has been thrown on their story; and we are favoured with beautiful editions of Juan's works, both in Spanish and English;¹ some of the treatises now given to the world having for ages been hidden in dusty corners of ancient libraries.

¹ A list is given at the end of this chapter.

The family of the Valdés stood high amongst the Spanish grandees of old. An ancestor, Hernando de Valdés, began the foundation of Cuenca in the twelfth century, and left behind him magnificent palaces and an entailed estate. Another Hernando, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, was a *Mayorazgo Regidor*, or hereditary proprietor, an hidalgo of fortune and renown. He was content with what he had.

Ten marks of gold for the telling,
And of silver I have nine score,
Good houses are mine to dwell in,
And I have a rent roll more.
My line and lineage please me,
Ten squires I count at my call,
And no lord who flatters or fees me,
Which pleases me more than they all.

This playful verse is believed to have been written by Hernando de Valdés; and no doubt the lines, which had fallen to him in pleasant places, shone brighter than before, after his noble lady presented him with healthy twins, and the boys were seen growing up amidst picturesque scenery round the rock-built city. Where stood the palace and gardens of their father we know not; but we can fancy the lads sporting on the banks of the Jucar and Huecar, or climbing up the sides of San Cristobal and El Socorro. They seem to pass before us in the narrow streets; we see them kneeling on the cathedral floor. They were educated, we are informed, at home; and, at a proper age, as was the custom, they were placed under the charge of a distinguished person familiar with the court and one of its members. Pedro Martir de Angleria, an Italian brought to Spain in the suite of an ambassador extraordinary, on his return from Rome, became the educator of Hernando's two sons, and under his guardianship they grew up to be men fit for office. Pedro Martir, or Peter Martyr—to be distinguished from Peter Martyr Vermiglio—possessed great influence, and his nu-

merous and copious letters are historical authorities of high value. After serving Ferdinand and Isabella, he became a trusty attendant on Charles V., and had interest enough with the emperor to get Alfonso Valdés appointed as his Majesty's Latin Secretary. This Peter Martyr was an extraordinary man, and entertained advanced views of political and religious reform. He saw much in Church and State which he deeply deplored, and after the manner of many who shrunk from following his namesake, Martin of Wittenberg, he longed for alterations in ecclesiastical affairs, and for spiritual improvement in the character of the clergy. A passage in one of his letters shows how fully he grasped the principle at the bottom of religious liberty—"No one, in my opinion, has been united by God in such intimate relationship with Himself, as that He has granted him the faculty of searching the hearts of other men, for He has reserved this His peculiar prerogative to Himself alone. Let no mortal encroach upon this, for we never learn that He ever allowed any other being to share it, no, not one of the angels. It has not been given to any man to penetrate the inward secrets of another."¹ Training under the man who could write thus in the sixteenth century, was an unspeakable privilege; and no doubt the brothers owed much in their subsequent career to the instructions of their patron.

Alfonso and Juan's biographies run along different lines, and must be noticed separately.

Alfonso, as just stated, was made Latin Secretary to Charles V. In that capacity he accompanied his royal master to Aix-la-Chapelle, on his coronation in 1520. He sent an account of its magnificence to Peter Martyr, and prefaced the minute details by saying, "Were I to attempt to describe to you in detail the legions of soldiers and knights with whom the emperor made his entrance into Aix-la-Chapelle, the magnificent retinue of courtiers of all ranks, the armed German hosts, the sound of the clarions, the

¹ Quoted by Wiffen in his 'Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés,' p. 20.

beating of the drums and other warlike instruments, the decorations in gold, silver and precious stones, and the personal carriage of the emperor himself—not only would it be difficult to me, but possibly wearisome to you.”¹

A year after the young man had been dazzled with this scene in the city of Charlemagne, he wrote another letter to his friend, informing him of what had occurred at Worms, and how Luther had said he could retract “nothing contained in his books, unless it were proved by the New Testament, or by the testimony of the Old Testament, that he had erred and written impiously.”² Referring to the safe-conduct given to Luther, Alfonso adds, “Here you have, as some imagine, the end of this tragedy; but I am persuaded that it is not the end, but the beginning of it. For I perceive that the minds of the Germans are greatly exasperated against the Roman See; and they do not seem to attach great importance to the emperor’s edicts; for since their publication, Luther’s books are sold with impunity at every shop and corner of the streets and market-places.” The books so freely sold and bought at Worms, where Valdés was, and where he must have seen Luther, would certainly be bought by some of Charles’s courtiers, and be by them carried home to Spain. Alfonso had no liking for Luther. Luther went much too far to please the courtly Spanish youth; yet the latter desired the reform of the Church, and strenuously advocated the holding of a general council.

He returned to Spain in 1522, and interested himself deeply in public affairs; and when Rome was taken and sacked by the imperial army in 1527, he wrote an official document in defence of the emperor addressed to Clement VII., in which, in his master’s name, he appeals from the pontiff, and demands the convocation of a general and universal council.³

In a letter to the Count Baldessar Castiglione, Nuncio in Spain,

¹ Quoted by Wiffen in his ‘Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés,’ p. 45.

² Ibid. p. 34.

³ Ibid. p. 49.

Alfonso writes, "Desiring to excuse the emperor, I could not avoid accusing the pope, of whose dignity, however, I speak as every good and faithful Christian ought to speak, and the guilt which might be personally brought home to him I try as much as possible to ward off from himself, and to cast it on his ministers."¹ Here we get at the position occupied by the writer as well as many others at that time. They did not dispute the dignity of the Holy See, but, to adopt modern language, they could not take Ultramontane views of the matter, inasmuch as they condemned the policy of the Roman court, which was then opposing ecclesiastical reform, and resisting the cry for a general council.

Alfonso was a friend of Erasmus, who greatly praised and sympathetically corresponded with him, as a Church reformer after his own type; and when Alfonso's father died, Erasmus wrote to him an affectionate letter of condolence. "Farewell, dear Valdés," he says; "after this tempest may you have a calm." "You know well that he who writes is wholly yours."²

Alfonso, however much he resembled his friend, could not help displeasing the pope, for in reference to the sack of Rome he wrote a dialogue in order to vindicate the emperor, and to prove that the catastrophe was a judgment from Heaven for the sins of the people. Clement VII. became reconciled to Charles, and officiated in 1530 at his second coronation in the city of Bologna.³ There, in the magnificent church of St. Petronio, the iron crown was placed by the pontiff on the emperor's head, amidst a splendid array of nobles and prelates, vying with that at Aix-la-Chapelle; and then the emperor knelt down to kiss the foot of the pontiff—a piece of hypocrisy akin to a great deal more in those days, for the two had been mortal enemies to each other, and after all could but ill disguise the suspicion and dislike still smouldering in their breasts

¹ Quoted by Wiffen in his 'Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés,' p. 76.

² Epist. 1122.

³ See 'Footprints of Italian Reformers,' for incidents connected with that event.

Alfonso was there ; and soon afterwards we meet him with his master at Augsburg. "Alfonso, Spanish secretary of his Imperial Majesty, as also Cornelius" (Schepper), writes Spalatin, "have had some friendly conversations with Philip (Melancthon). Valdés told him that the Spaniards had been given to understand that the Lutherans believed neither in God nor the Trinity, nor did they hold Christ and the Virgin Mary in any estimation, so that they esteemed it a greater service to God to slay a Lutheran than to kill a Turk." This was one of the monstrous ideas of Protestantism current among Roman Catholics in those days. They have continued down to our own time. I was once travelling in Italy, when a youth who was with me in the diligence expressed the utmost surprise at finding, from what I told him, that Protestants trusted for salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ, and revered His holy mother, the Virgin Mary, though they did not pray to her. Melancthon corrected the prevalent misapprehensions. He spoke for a long time with them, and explained the principles of his party ; but they came to no conclusion and maintained their own opinions. "Alfonso told Melancthon that he had been in the morning with the emperor, and that no opportunity so favourable to speak to his Majesty about him having occurred for a long time, he reported to him all the Lutheran articles, and how they believed there was nothing whatever in them contrary to the church. The emperor had asked, What do they wish about the monks ? and had charged him, Alfonso, to request of Melancthon that he should transmit to his Majesty a brief summary drawn up without any prolixity, which Melancthon has done."¹ This summary was the Augsburg Confession ; and it is curious to find that the Spanish Valdés had so much connection with it. Altogether it appears that Alfonso acted as a mediator between the two Church parties, and that some, perhaps including himself, supposed the points of contention related chiefly to the Eucharist under

¹ Quoted in 'Life of Juan de Valdés,' by Wiffen, 88.

two forms, to clerical marriage and to the mass. It was then, as it always is, the friends of peace are apt only to look on the surface, and not to see the deep gulfs which yawn beneath. "Alfonso," says Wiffen, "was not a Protestant. Like Erasmus, he was not wanting in genius to soar with Luther; like Erasmus, he would not separate himself from the simplicity and breadth of the Bible; and like Erasmus also, both he and his twin brother remained within the pale of their ancient communion till their death."¹

But Alfonso went far enough to awaken suspicion amongst familiars of the Holy Office. Years afterwards, Francisco de Enzinas, of whom I shall have much to say, remarked, "There are none of us who did not know Alfonso de Valdés, the emperor's secretary, to be a good man. The satellites of the holy fathers could never endure his doctrine and authority. They laid such snares for him, that if he had returned to Spain there would have been an end of him. They would have caused him to die a cruel death. The emperor himself could not have saved him."² Probably he did not return. His death occurred in 1532, as we learn from a letter sent by Thomas Cranmer to Henry VIII., in which he speaks of Alfonso Valdés dying of the plague with others of the imperial household.³

We must now take up the story of Juan de Valdés. He remained in Spain till a short time before his brother's death. We find him at Bologna in 1533, where he was in the service of the pope as a chamberlain,⁴ a circumstance difficult to reconcile with

¹ Quoted in 'Life of Juan de Valdés,' by Wiffen, 90. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid. 91.

⁴ "The post which Valdés held at the court of Clement VII. must have been that of '*cameriere d'onore, di spada e cappa*,' meaning a chamberlain of honour, a secular, a layman, a post of honour involving no regular duties." Moroni's '*Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*,' Venezia, 1841, vol. vii., p. 48. Compare Lunadoro's '*Relazione della corte di Roma*,' Venezia, 1671, p. 14; where it is stated that they do not present themselves at the palace except when they choose to do so, and that it is usual for the popes to send the cardinal's hat by them to newly-appointed cardinals. This information is given by Dr. Boehmer, and is inserted in his '*Lives of the Twin Brothers*.'

his religious history. For before that, he had been employed on a dialogue entitled 'Mercury and Charon,' relating incidents in the war between 1521 and 1528. The boatman Charon, on the river Styx, and a departed soul, are represented as talking about matters in this world; but the departed spirit in Hades is at length heard relating his experience, and after confessing former slavery to vice, describes a thorough conversion, saying, "God enlightened my mind, and knowing the doctrine of the New Testament to be true, I determined to lay aside superstitions and vices in all their forms, and to occupy myself in following out the former to the best of my poor ability, although friends and relatives placed immense obstacles in the way of my doing so. Some say that I was going mad, and others that I was about to turn monk, whilst I made sport for them all. But from love to Jesus Christ I bore it all patiently." It has been thought that Valdés here relates his own conversion; if so, it is strange that with such a manifest Protestant bias, he should afterwards hold office under the pope; even if the passage be a pure fiction, it is not of a nature such as we should expect would be written by a Roman official. However this may be, we find him with the pope on the 5th of January, 1533, writing the following letter to the Bishop of Culm, Counsellor of the King of Poland—the only letter of Juan's which has been rescued from oblivion.

"Had I not the certainty, most honoured master, that thy mind is so moulded by the most sacred and by the most virtuous teachings, so as to be wholly averse to the principles of those who are wont to love a man, not for his ability, but for his fortunes, I assuredly should not have taken this step; now, however, when I recollect that thou wert intimate with my brother, Alfonso Valdés (who by sad fate has been carried off from us), before that he attained that post about the emperor's person, I feel no hesitation in addressing myself to thee by letter, in order that thou mightest thereby understand that my mind is not so intent upon attaining

the property bequeathed me under my brother's will, as upon conciliating their favour whom he looked up to as his masters and superiors, or whom he loved as friends, or whom he cherished as his inferiors; that I may be able either to venerate them as masters, or to look up to them as superiors, or to love them as equals, and that they also may esteem and love me, as his twin-brother, to whom nature has given the same features and the same tone of voice; for if the intellectual endowments, which he by the grace of our good and great God had acquired, be not found as richly and copiously in me as in him, I am not on that account to be despised by those to whom my brother was dear, for I do not challenge of them that they value me for my sake, but rather that they should do so for my brother's. Since, revered master, he ever highly esteemed thee as a superior, and that thou hast ever loved and valued him as a friend, it will be just that thou now make me heir of this thy love and of the benevolence towards him, and I shall then assume that thou wilt have done so, when thou shalt give me something in charge wherein I may be enabled to show my feelings towards thee by readiness of service. Shouldest thou have felt constrained by the loss of so dear a friend to commit anything to writing, I earnestly entreat thee to send it, whatever it may be, to me, that I may by this token of thy love occasionally soothe and mitigate my most bitter grief. But in order that thou mayest know where to address me by letter, know that I shall henceforth be near the person of the pope; where should aught transpire in any manner affecting thine interests, thou wilt commit its management to me, which will be most honouring and most agreeable to me.

"Fare thee well, most noble president, and love me in the stead of Alfonso Valdés."¹

A work entitled '*Dialogo de las Lenguas*' there can be no doubt

¹ Bologna, 12th January, 1533; printed in '*Introduction to the Lives of the Twin-brothers, Juan and Alfonso de Valdés*,' by Edward Boehmer. (Trübner.)

was written by Juan Valdés. It is composed in a sparkling style, and is pronounced by Mr. Ticknor, the accomplished and critical historian of Spanish literature, "by far the best didactic prose work of the period." He praises the purity of the style at a time marked by formal and elaborate eloquence, citing these words by the author: "I write as I speak; only I take more pains to think what I have to say, and then I say it as simply as I can, for to my mind affectation is out of place in all languages." Don Luis goes so far as to believe that De Vega and Cervantes made the style of De Valdés their study. The supposed dialogue is carried on by the seaside at Naples, and it forms a learned and clever discussion on the origin and genius of the Castilian tongue; but, as Mr. Ticknor points out, it falls into an error when he represents Italian as derived from Greek, and speaks of the latter as having at one time prevailed in the Peninsula.¹ In reply to the question "Which do you hold to be the greater fault in a man—want of genius or want of judgment?" Valdés, who introduces himself by name as one of the interlocutors, replies—"Had I to choose, I should prefer a man with but moderate genius and good judgment, to one with moderate judgment and great genius. *Man has no jewel to compare with that of a sound judgment.*" Those words in the sixteenth century deserve to be weighed by Englishmen of the nineteenth.

Juan de Valdés retired to Naples, at what date I cannot ascertain; but he was there when Charles V. went to the city in 1535, and on the 4th of February issued an edict forbidding intercourse with Lutherans, or those suspected of heresy. Death or confiscation of property was threatened in case of disobedience. Yet when Juan left for Rome, he went with the emperor as one of the gentlemen of the court, and, on the departure of the emperor from Italy, Juan went back to Naples, and resided there till his death, gathering together on Sundays, for four or five years,

¹ Ticknor, 'Hist. of Spanish Lit.' ii. 19.

sympathetic friends whom he instructed in things pertaining to the kingdom of God.¹

Juán Valdés became acquainted with the Italian Protestant martyr Carnesecchi,² who thus described his friend:—"Although I had known Juán Valdés at Rome in the time of Pope Clement, I cannot say that I knew him as a theologian before the year 1540 in Naples. For when in Rome I did not know that he applied himself to the study of sacred literature, but I knew him only as a modest and well-bred courtier, and as such I liked him very much, so that the intercourse and familiarity I afterwards had with him at Naples was a continuation of our friendship made at Rome; at Naples, however, the friendship grew to be a spiritual one, for I found him entirely given up to the Spirit, and wholly intent on the study of Holy Scripture. This, however, would not have been sufficient with me—to give him the credit I did—now that the *gentiluomo di spada e cappa*, the layman and courtier had, for me, suddenly become the theologian, had I not observed what a high place he occupied in the eyes of Fra Bernardino Ochino, who then was preaching, to the admiration of everybody, at Naples, and who professed to receive the themes of many of his sermons from Valdés, from whom he used to get a note on the evening preceding the morning on which he was to ascend the pulpit; and if

¹ That society I have described elsewhere ('Footprints of Italian Reformers'); and as it belongs to the Reformation in Italy, any further reference would be out of place in the present volume, except to say that his work in that country most effectively promoted the interests of spiritual religion amongst the upper class of Italians. He died in 1540. Wiffen and Boehmer have done much to elucidate his life and character, and books on this subject have appeared in Spanish by Don Caballero (1875), and in French by Manuel Carrasco (1880). The former contains many important letters and other documents.

² Some account of Carnesecchi is given in the 'Footprints of Italian Reformers' (Religious Tract Society). A full report of his trial may be found in 'Estratto del processo di Pietro Carnesecchi,' edited by Giacomo Mazoni. Tomo X. della Miscellanea di Storia Italiana. Notices of Bernardino Ochino are also contained in the 'Footprints,' &c.

Fra Bernardino's opinion had not been in harmony with that of Flaminio, whom I thought such a prudent and learned man that he would not have been imposed upon; and so sincere and worthy, that he would not have wished to delude others; especially such a great friend of his as I was, and on a matter of such importance as religion." Juan de Valdés died in the summer of 1541. His decease was placid. He was, in his last illness, visited by the Archbishop of Otranto, his dear friend, who used to commend his writings and discourses in matters of religion. When, in 1543, the archbishop, then a member of the Council of Trent, and his friend Carnesecchi, saw each other for the first time after Valdés' death, and could pass an evening together, at Venice, they, as it were, vied in expressing "their admiration and praise of that blessed divine."¹

The influence of this Reformer over Spanish minds is to be attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to his writings. Very little would now be known of them but for the researches of the gentlemen already mentioned; and to them the English public are indebted for a growing acquaintance with the works of Juan Valdés and other Reformers.

A book of his, entitled the 'Christian Alphabet,' translated out of Spanish into Italian, was printed and published in 1546.² It presents what Valdés regarded as the first principles of Christianity, and it is cast into a dialogue form, of which he and his brother seem to have been fond. The speakers are himself and Signora Donna Giulia Gonzaga.

Mr. Wiffen tells us "she was the one who drank deepest of his instructions, and towards whom his mind was most forcibly brought into exercise. Her noble faculties, her pursuit of the highest virtue, and the loveliness of her mind and person, alike engaged his regard." Eulogised by the father of Tasso and by Ariosto, she has

¹ These extracts are from Boehmer's 'Lives of the Twin-Brothers.'

² 'Alfabeto Christiano che insegna la vera via d'acquistare il lume dello Spirito santo. Stampata con gratia et privilegio. (L'Anno MDXLVI.)' Probably at Venice.

come down to us as a poetess in a little volume published at Bergamo in 1750. At sixteen she married a duke and count, who gave her the titles she bore. Her husband, older than herself, inspired her with an affection which continued in all its strength after his death, which induced her to reject offers of a second union, and which led her to adopt, after a fashion of that age, an amaranthine flower as her symbol, with the motto, *Non Moritura*, "that will not die." Her history is most romantic, and has been chronicled by Wiffen; and after a series of adventures she went to live at Naples in the Borgo delle Vergini. The lady whilst there became immersed in troubles, owing to a family dispute; and it was under these perplexing circumstances that her intimate acquaintance with Juan de Valdés occurred, and that the conversation given in the 'Alfabeto Cristiano' may be regarded as taking place.

There are three ways, Juan says, in which people arrive at the knowledge of God. One is by the light of nature. "This light the Gentile philosophers had, and this those people have at the present day to whom Christ is not known. St. Paul speaks of this knowledge when he said that by the visible things of creation people come to a knowledge of the invisible things of God." "Another way to the knowledge of God is by Sacred Scripture. I mean by the Old Testament, which gave a knowledge of God, but imperfectly, exhibiting Him as angry—a God of Vengeance, and such similar severe names." The third way of knowing God is by Christ. This way is the certain, clear and safe way; this is the straight, royal, and noble way. "And because we cannot know Christ by the light of nature, nor by other human industry, if God does not internally illumine and open the vision of our souls, I say that this knowledge of God through Christ is a supernatural knowledge for which the special grace of God is necessary."¹ Valdés quotes the words to Peter thus: "Blessed art thou, Simon

¹ The paragraph in the original is here abridged,

son of John ; for this thou hast not gained by human reason, nor by the light of nature ; but My Father who is in heaven has revealed it unto thee ;" and then adds, " When we know God through Christ, we know Him as loving, benign, merciful, compassionate, because we find in Christ love, benignity, mercy, and compassion." This, Valdés seems to place in contrast with what is taught in the Old Testament ; apparently forgetting the revelation of Divine mercy made there, and not connecting the New Testament with the Old, as he should have done.

The best known work by Valdés is the 'CX. Considerations,' of which the earliest edition identified was an Italian version, printed at Bâle in 1550. This volume was translated into English, and printed in 1638 and 1646. It inspired the admiration of George Herbert ; but a far better version is that by Mr. Betts, published in 1865. It may here be added, that recently, since Mr. Betts made his translation of the 'CX. Considerations' from the Italian edition, thirty-nine MSS. of the book have been discovered in the original Spanish, amongst the Maximilian papers at Vienna.

From a perusal of the 'Considerations,' it will be found that the author did not deal in scholastic propositions or in logical reasonings, that his habits were religious rather than theological, experimental rather than scientific. Upon the nature of our Lord, though he refuses to speculate respecting the union of Divinity and humanity, he uses language utterly inconsistent with Antitrinitarianism ; yet that has been unjustly attributed to him by some writers.¹ He did not attack the false doctrines of Rome, such as transubstantiation, purgatory, the intercession of saints, and the like. We find little or nothing controversial in the volume. It has no bitterness, but from beginning to end abounds in light and sweetness. He did not attempt to struggle with error so much as to inculcate what he believed to be truth. In his 'Con-

¹ See 'Alphonso and Juan de Valdés, by Manuel Carrasco,' p. 105 ; and carefully read Consideration No. XCV.

siderations' he dwells upon the atonement, which he describes as "Justice executed upon Christ" (a favourite expression with him); upon justification by faith, which is expounded in a somewhat Lutheran form; and upon regeneration as the work of the Holy Spirit, much after the type of doctrine generally adopted by Evangelical divines. The fruitlessness of mere speculation, the moral power of Christian faith, and the spirituality of religion, are ever-recurring topics in a long series of remarks, which do not exhibit any systematic order. He quotes Scripture texts, but more abundantly refers to the illumination of the soul by the direct agency of the Holy Ghost. No doubt several questionable statements are introduced; yet the chapters are rich in shrewd ideas and lively illustrations, presenting throughout subtlety of thought, and a keen habit of analysis. His meaning sometimes is liable to be misapprehended; hence unfavourable criticisms have been suggested by foreign and English readers. Nor can it be denied that there are defects, weaknesses, and mistakes in Juan and other writers of this class. Old moulds and forms of thought were broken up by them, and they were not unlikely to say what enemies and even friends might regard as heretical. Valdés belonged to the same class as Bernard, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and the author of the '*Theologia Germanica*.' I believe it is said that he used to recommend the sermons of Tauler; and certainly many trains of thought in the Spanish Christian do wonderfully harmonize with the meditations of the great Teutonic preacher.

Education, society and mental idiosyncrasies powerfully affect our opinions of others. We judge of them by ourselves. If they do not resemble us, if their tastes and habits differ from our own, we are liable to form a false judgment of their character as spiritual teachers. Some have a strong prejudice against all who are called "Mystics;" on the one hand they are treated as imbecile, on the other as puffed up with religious conceit. Yet when they

are closely examined their thoughts will be found "to go down to the very deepest and most universal grounds of theology and metaphysics." Nor should the consciousness which they felt of the inward workings of the Divine Spirit be overlooked. "By their fruits ye shall know them ;" and beautiful manifestations of purity, love, meekness and joy do not spring from roots of self-delusion and falsehood. What has been said of the readers of John Tauler may be truly said also of Juan Valdés. "They will find there the same food which they have found already in St. Bernard, à Kempis, and Madame Guyon ; and find there also, perhaps more clearly than in any mystic writer, a safeguard against the dangers which specially beset them ; against the danger of mistaking their passing emotions for real and abiding love of good ; against exalting any peculiar intuition which they may think they have attained into a source of self-glorification, and fancying that they become something by the act of confessing themselves nothing." ¹

It may be further remarked that in the 'CX. Considerations' a great deal may be found resembling ideas and sentiments expressed by George Fox and the early Quakers ; and hence, in part, the extraordinary admiration of Valdés expressed by Mr. B. B. Wiffen. "It has been my wish," says the latter, "to represent the truth and depth of his Christian profession, exalted to the simplicity of the Gospels, grounded and settled in the faith of the heart, which Valdés endeavoured to practise himself and to teach to others." "With a masterly power over his whole nature, Valdés sought to apprehend truth through the medium of feeling as well as reason." "To Valdés the internal word of Inspiration was not mystical. He knew that the word of God within, earnestly sought for, patiently believed in, and obediently complied with, was as the highest reason, and that its commands were practicable just in proportion to the degree of the reliance of faith reposed in them." ²

¹ Kingsley, Preface to 'Tauler's Sermons,' xxxv.

² Life of Valdés prefixed to the 'Considerations,' 174.

These sentences will indicate to most readers the cast of thought pervading the works of the Spanish Reformer.

Two works by Valdés in Spanish were printed professedly at Venice, really at Geneva, in 1556 and 1557; the latter the very year in which, at the same place, the English exiles brought out what is so well known as the Genevan Testament, so popular amongst our Puritan ancestors. The first of these works by Valdés was a translation and exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, the second a translation and exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The former has a prefatory letter



DEVICE PREFERRED TO VALDÉS' BOOKS.¹

addressed to his friend Giulia Gonzaga, and in it he explains his method of rendering the Greek into Spanish, which is particularly interesting to the English reader, now that so much controversy has arisen from the publication of our Revised Testament, touching the principle to be adopted in rendering Scriptures from one language into another.

“In the translation I have sought to adhere to the letter of the text, rendering it word for word as much as it was possible for me

¹ This device is given on the title-page of the ‘Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.’ The branches of the Y represent, in the thin line, the narrow way to life, and in the other, the broad way to death.

to do so ; and even leaving ambiguity where, finding it in the Greek text, I have been able to leave it in the Spanish, when the text might apply in one sense or in another. I have done this because in translating St. Paul I have not pretended to write my own conceptions, but those of St. Paul. It is indeed true that I have added some (*palabras*) little words to the text where it appeared to me that some of them are understood in the Greek text, although they are not written, whilst it seems that others are necessarily to be understood. All these are, as you will see, marked in order that you may recognize them as mine, and that you may treat them as shall seem best to you, as to the reading or not reading of them."

"The Latin words which I place at the beginning of the Commentaries do not serve, as you might think, to assist you to understand the Latin by the Spanish, for they frequently disagree the one from the other, but rather think that they only serve to help you the more easily to understand which are the Latin words to which the Spanish correspond ; for those, as I have said, conform to the Greek text and not to the Latin, because St. Paul wrote in Greek and not in Latin ; and supposing, for instance, that you should wish to read St. Paul's text without any Commentaries, I wish to point out some things that will open up the way for your doing so with facility, and that will render the apprehension of St. Paul's mind easy."

The statement he makes as to the spirit of his Commentary, and the idea of Christianity which he means to unfold in it, is still more important. "And thus I tell you that by the Gospel, St. Paul means the proclamation of the good news of the general pardon, that is published throughout the world, affirming that God has pardoned all the sins of all the men in the world, executing the rigour of His justice for all of them upon Christ, who has proclaimed this general pardon to the world, and in whose name all they who publish it do proclaim it,

in order that men, moved by the authority of Christ, who is the Son of God, may give credit to the general pardon, and relying upon the Word of God, may hold themselves to be reconciled to God, and may desist from striving after other reconciliations.”¹

Valdés' Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew has only of late been brought to light, but is now accessible to the English reader through a translation by Mr. Betts, who has also published in English Valdés' Commentary on the Romans. These works are wonderfully valuable. They are so clear, so comprehensive, so condensed, so spiritual, in general so satisfactory—that I know not how sufficiently to praise them. When we remember that Valdés was a Spaniard, born before the Reformation, brought up in the midst of superstition, living in the world and familiar with the splendour of court life, it is surprising beyond expression that he could expound as he did the Gospel of the Saviour. It is to be explained only by our believing that he was largely blessed with the illumination of that Spirit to which we owe the heavenly oracles themselves.

A significant passage occurs at the close of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew: “It behoves the children of God not to contend with, nor set themselves in opposition to those who do not desire their society, but to depart peacefully from them, as did Christ from the Gergasenes.” This seems a key to the secret of his own course of proceeding. He abstained from mingling in his last days with the enemies of Protestantism.

Dr. Wilkens, of Bremen, an enthusiastic admirer of Valdés, in a letter to Mr. Betts in July, 1882, thus speaks of the Commentary

¹ Those who are acquainted with the writings of Thomas Erskine will be struck with the resemblance between some of his sentiments and those of the Spanish reformer. See more on the same subject, Valdés, ‘Opuscles,’ 27. To affirm, however, that “God has pardoned all the sins of all men,” without connecting this with the necessity of repentance and faith, gives a false impression of New Testament teaching.

on St. Matthew's Gospel—"It is an exposition by means of which the reader will become something (beyond what he was) and not merely better instructed in Scripture. The life, the power, the peace of the word of God will penetrate the heart and awaken life, or nourish it, if it already be there. Such are genuine Expositions, they are not works buried in learning, as though under lava, wherein all that is Divine must disappear to make place for additions that are wholly empty and human ; where one finds but a luxury of citations, of contentious contradictions, of forgotten opinions, of notices that were best dispensed with, and a farrago of words that never yield enjoyment. In relation to the basket by which St. Paul was lowered down the wall, how can I be interested in a quarto volume, a series of disquisitions upon the baskets of the ancients, those of Egypt, of Babylon, of Greece, of Rome ? They who wish to occupy themselves upon such topics know where to find them, but a commentary must not weary its reader with them. How admirably does Valdés cut all such investigations short, by referring the curious to them who understand them. In such cases he is a model Expositor. The majority occupy themselves so much with the shell, that they overlook and never eat the sweet kernel ; but the eating of that is nevertheless the principal thing.

"Valdés' minor works are the golden ingots of God's word worked up into small coins for Christ's children and younger members ; and these groats are as current this day as they were in the sixteenth century.

"Upon the whole, these Evangelical impulses and efforts in Spain belong to that period, and to the noblest manifestations ; but that which so greatly distinguishes them is their *purity*. They are free from those bitter polemics, which by their vulgarity, untruths and exaggerations, injure love, embitter Catholics, and which to this present day have so greatly injured the cause of truth."

The teaching of Juan Valdés could not be much known in Spain until after his death. It might be, and no doubt was,

reported to friends in private. At Cuenca and elsewhere, whisperings might be received as to the doctrine inculcated on the Chiaja at Naples. And when Spanish and Italian editions were printed north of the Alps, they might be brought by stealth to those of his fellow-countrymen who were thirsting for Protestant truth. But of late years, thank God, Valdés' books have been printed and circulated in Spain. Don Luis, a distinguished Spaniard of our own time, was indefatigable in this unprecedented enterprise. He had received light into his own soul from this illustrious author, and he longed to pour the same illumination into the minds of others. Through his zeal and that of sympathizing friends, Valdés, "though dead, yet speaketh."

NOTE.

The following is a list of works by Juan Valdés :—

1. *Dialogo de la lengua* (Dialogue respecting language). The earliest printed edition seems to be that of 1737.
2. *Alfabeto Christiano* (Christian Alphabet), 1546, printed probably at Venice. Prohibited in the Index of Pius IV.
3. *Comentario, ó declaracion breve, y compendiosa sobre la Epistola de S. Paulo Apostol á los Romanos*, 1556. Prohibited.
5. *Comentario o declaracion familiar, y compendiosa sobre la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apostol á los Corinthios*, 1557.
5. *Opuscles.*
 1. *Modo di tener nell insegnare et nel predicare al principio della religione Christiana.* 1549. (Mode of teaching the fundamentals of the Christian religion.) Prohibited.
 2. *Sul principio della dottrina Christiana.* 1545. (Christian Doctrine.)
 3. *Catechismus* (Catechism). Prohibited in the Index of 1549.
 4. *Lac spirituale* (Spiritual milk).
 6. *Le Cento et dieci divine considerationi del Giovani Valdesso*, 1550 (Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations).

7. *MS. in the Aulic Library at Vienna containing a Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel.* The MS. was unknown till of late, and does not contain the name of the author. It is identified as the work of Juan Valdés.

Mr. Betts has translated into English the following :—

- ‘XVII Opuscles,’ Valdés’ recently discovered Minor Works.
- ‘Commentary upon St. Matthew’s Gospel.’
- ‘Spiritual Milk ;’ or, Instruction for the Children of Christian Parents. Translated from the Italian (the *editio princeps*).
- ‘Three Opuscles.’ An extract from Valdés’ Minor Works.
- ‘Commentary upon our Lord’s Sermon on the Mount.’ An extract from Valdés’ Commentary upon St. Matthew’s Gospel.
- The whole Commentary on St. Matthew.
- ‘Commentary upon St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans.’
- ‘Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.’

These works are published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., 57, Ludgate Hill.

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH PROTESTANTS IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS.

WHILST Juan Valdés was engaged in Italy composing Evangelical works—which may be said in our time to have risen from the dead, and which promise now immortal life—there were other Spaniards, outside their native land, who were studying the new learning, and striving to make it known to their fellow men.

I wish to pause here, that I may trace the outlines of their history before proceeding further with local memories of the Reformation *in* Spain.

Juan Díaz was born at Cuenca, the birthplace of Alfonso and Juan Valdés. His story is deeply tragical. His conversion was accomplished through the instrumentality of Jayme Enzinas, to be noticed in this chapter. Tired of scholastic divinity, he betook himself to the study of Holy Scripture, and acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew he read the Old Testament in the original. He had been educated in the University of Paris, and spent some years in France, after which he removed to Geneva and resided in the house of a fellow-countryman. The first date we light upon is the year 1546, when he was residing at Strasburg. Bucer was delighted with his talents and acquirements. He accompanied the Reformer to Ratisbon, where a religious conference was held. There he met with one of his countrymen, Pedro Malvenda, who, learning that he had adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, was filled with astonishment and anger. "What," he exclaimed, "Juan Díaz at Ratisbon, and in company with Protestants!" He strove hard to

bring his fellow-countryman back to the Romish faith. Malvenda found the religious atmosphere of Germany very different from that of Spain, and could not succeed in his task. Juan Diaz had a brother at Rome, whose name was Alfonso, and this man felt intense indignation at a breach in the faith of his family. Hoping to recover Juan, and with a design—as Protestant biographers suppose—of an atrocious alternative in case of disappointment, he pursued the heretic; and Bucer, suspecting mischief, advised the latter to return to Neuburg, a small Bavarian town on the bank of the Danube. Alfonso discovered the retreat and paid his brother a visit. He did everything he could to convince him that Protestantism was heresy, a backsliding from Christ, a sin against God, who had made the Catholic Church the repository of His truth. But all this was in vain. Then it is stated that he altered his plan, and professed sympathy with his relative, listening with feigned simplicity to his explanation of the new creed; he afterwards proposed they should travel with each other to Rome, where Juan might gain opportunities of diffusing his opinions. The latter promised to think of the proposal, and communicated it to his Protestant brethren. They begged him not to go, and he yielded to their entreaties, though he remained unsuspecting. Alfonso, however, would not leave his brother, but insisted that they should proceed together as far as Augsburg. Bucer prevented compliance, upon which Alfonso departed, bidding an affectionate farewell. Next day the cunning Spaniard changed his route; and instead of travelling to Italy, went back to a village near Neuburg, in company with a second person, of ominous character. They approached, early one March morning, a cottage where Juan lodged, and knocked at the door. Alfonso remained at the gate, but his companion went in, saying he was bearer of a letter to the gentleman upstairs. Juan, being told that some one had brought a communication from his brother, left his bedroom, and met the stranger. Taking the packet in his hand, he went to the window—

for the day had only just begun to dawn, and he could scarcely see—the bearer softly stepped behind, and drawing an axe from under his cloak, despatched his victim at one blow. It is added that a person who slept in the same room with *Juán*, hearing a noise, rose immediately, and found his friend weltering in blood. The assassin, with *Alfonso*, fled; but being pursued, both were overtaken at *Innspruck*, and thrown into prison. They were arraigned before the criminal court in that romantic old city. Lawyers went from *Neuburg* with a strong body of evidence; but though the fact of the murder was clear as daylight, and its atrocity black as hell, special pleading defeated the ends of justice, and the murderer escaped. Protestant princes, when assembled at *Ratisbon*, demanded that the murderers should be punished; but the judges produced an imperial order forbidding the trial to proceed further. The story, when told in the calmest manner, makes one recoil with horror; but what must we feel when we are assured that the criminal dared to repeat in his own country the circumstances of the crime! A narrative of the whole transaction was drawn up by *Juán's* companion in the chamber, and confirmatory evidence was adduced by *Bucer* and others. *Dr. Boehmer* has investigated the subject with great diligence, and gives a trustworthy account of the tragedy. From him we learn that the imperial historiographer *Sepulveda* confirms the report given by the friend of the slain.¹

Before leaving *Juán Diaz of Cuenca*, I may state, in passing, that there were *autos de fé* in that city, as in so many other places. In 1528 a singular character, named *Torralva*, was arrested there for necromancy, and in 1531, having been imprisoned in the interval, was doomed by the Inquisition to undergo public penance. This *Torralva* was the common talk of Spain at the time, for nothing had

¹ This friend was a young Savoyard named *Claude Senarclé*. *Boehmer's* narrative may be found in the '*Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*,' i. 187-216. He refers to *Sepulveda*, *de rebus gestis Caroli V.*

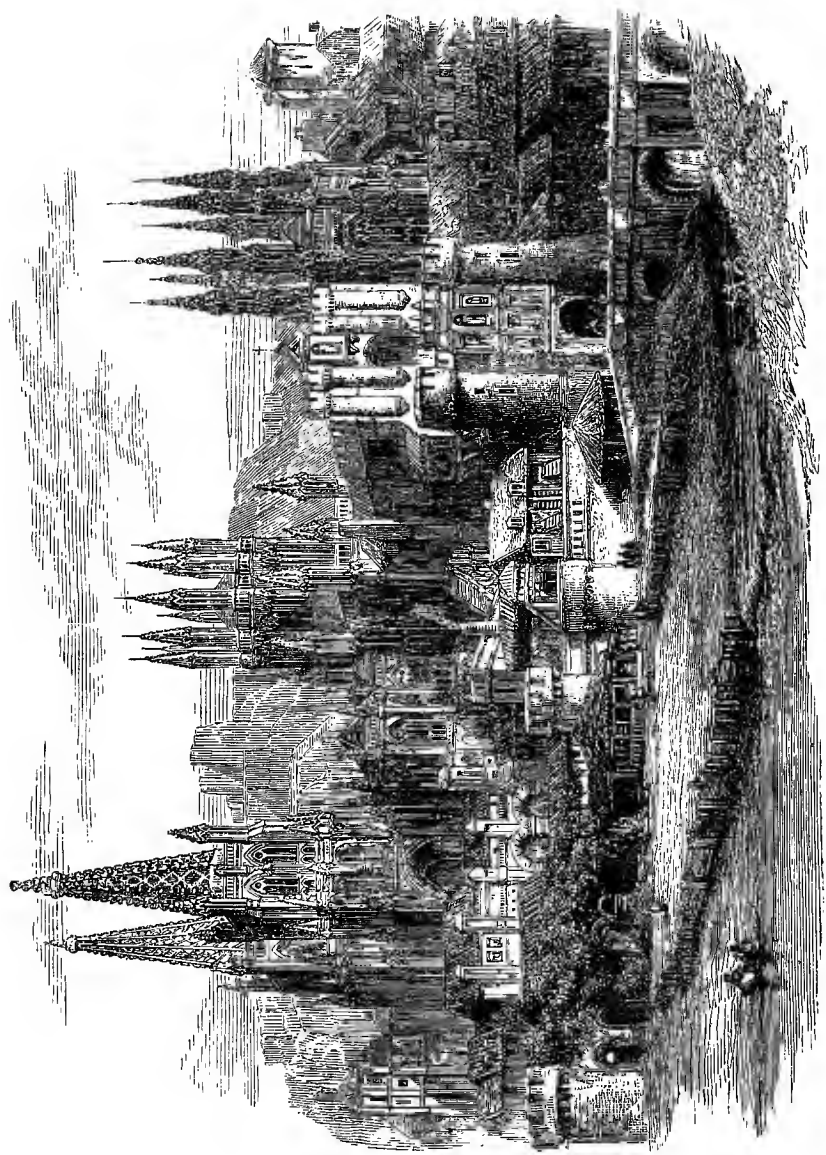
greater fascination for the people of that country than stories about magic, in which they believed with a fear which made them tremble. This notorious person is described by Luis de Çapata, in his 'Carlo Famoso' (1560), a poetical chronicle of the Emperor Charles V.; and he also figures in 'Don Quixote,' when that hero fancies himself riding on his wooden horse amongst the stars.¹ Tales of his enchantments occur in the records of the Holy Office, and show into what absurdities of superstition as well as into what caricatures of belief the Inquisitors were accustomed to inquire. If most of their proceedings were unrighteous and cruel, others of them were really ridiculous. The Inquisitors at Cuenca gravely asked Torralva what his familiar spirit, whose name was Zequal, thought of Luther and Erasmus!²

In the same city a more terrible *auto* was held in 1654, when fifty-seven people were condemned, six being burnt, and the rest reconciled. They were all Jews, except one, who was convicted of Lutheranism. As a specimen of the kind of evidence adduced to prove a person was a Jew or Jewess, I may refer to the case of Doña Isabel, wife of a Portuguese doctor. She had something to do with the marriage of two young people, children of Portuguese Jews, and said, "They were happy, for they observed the law of God." How such words could prove anybody to be a Jew or a Jewess is a puzzle; but the sage officers of the tribunal decided that these words, "the law of God," signified the law of Moses. We may conclude from this the sort of evidence on which people were convicted of heresy.

Contemporary with Diaz of Cuenca were other Reformers belonging to Spain, whose track we must now follow. Francisco de San Romano, a native of Burgos, was of a good family, being son of an Alcayde, or Mayor of Bribiesca. From his native city he went to Antwerp, where he was living in 1540. The Netherlands

¹ 'Carlo Famoso,' Cantos 28-32, and 'Don Quixote,' Part ii. c. 74. Ticknor, ii. 461.

² Llorente, ii. 67-75.



BURGOS CATHEDRAL.

had then for many years been closely connected with Spain through the circumstance that Charles V.¹ inherited the governorship of that territory from his father Philip, Archduke of Austria. The commercial relationship between the two countries was intimate, and young Franzisco was sent to a mercantile house in the famous port at the mouth of the Scheldt. It was then in the zenith of its pride, and ships of many nations landed riches on the spacious quay, to be distributed over Northern Europe. The Reformation had there made way, and Protestant citizens had already undergone severe persecution. William Tyndale had been busy at Antwerp with his English translation of the Scriptures, and he may be traced in different parts of the neighbourhood, until, in 1536, basely betrayed, he was strangled and burnt at Vilvorde, near Brussels. No doubt his story, and that of other reformers, would reach the ear of the young Spaniard, as he mingled with the merchants; but he does not seem to have been brought into sympathy with the Reformation until he visited Bremen. At the time of his going there, one James Spreng (Master Jacobus, Foxe calls him) was a Protestant preacher in the town, having formerly been prior of Austin Friars at Antwerp. Franzisco went to his church, and from a sermon by Spreng received impressions which he never lost. Foxe relates the incident as if something little short of a miracle occurred, enabling the young foreigner, unskilled in German, to understand the discourse so as to repeat every word in perfect form and order; probably he knew enough of the language to enable him to catch the preacher's drift, and then by subsequent reflection to make the substance of the matter entirely his own.² He was "struck by an arrow from the hand of God." He sought out the

¹ It must be remembered throughout that he was the first Charles of Spain, the fifth of Germany.

² 'Acts and Monuments,' iv. 448. Foxe's account of Romano has been little noticed. It is based on the 'Memoirs of Enzinas.' D'Aubigné gives a full description of San Romano, viii. 58, *et seq.* So does Droin, i. 224.

ex-prior and communicated to him the new convictions he had received ; at the same time evincing an ardour of temperament which betrayed want of discretion in so young a person. San Romano felt so absorbed in his new religious thoughts that he neglected business, and spent his time chiefly in reading German and French Protestant books. He wrote to his Antwerp employers explaining the change he had undergone, and telling them he meant to return to Burgos, and proclaim there the truths which had taken possession of his soul. This missionary zeal alarmed "certain friars," who were informed of the fact by the astonished merchants ; and when Franzisco came back to the city, they seized him as he alighted from his horse, sifted his bag of books, and taking him into a neighbouring house, examined what he had brought. "He declared boldly," says Foxe, "'My faith is to confess and preach Jesus Christ only, and Him crucified, which is the true faith of the Universal Church of Christ throughout the whole world ; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable.'" We catch here a ring of sentiment different from Alfonso Valdés' sympathy with Erasmus, and also different from Juan's gentle mode of expressing spiritual sentiments. The enthusiastic convert denounced the pope as Antichrist, "born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ." Masses and purgatory found no mercy at the hands of this outspoken Spaniard. The friars burnt his books ; "then he began to thunder out against them more than ever." Some who witnessed the contest supposed Franzisco mad, and conveyed him "to a tower six miles distant," where he was kept eight months. People expostulated, and entreated him to talk "more modestly." He replied that he held no heretical opinions, and that if he seemed vehement, it was owing to the "importunity" of the friars, and that he would strive to be more calm. He was advised by a Spanish Protestant, "not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he

might exercise with a good conscience and do much good." "It is God," he added, "that hath the care of His Church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither does He care for such as rashly intrude themselves into the sacred office without being called." Clearly this judicious friend did not think Franzisco had a call. Whatever might be the immediate effect of such advice, the latter broke out again before long; and with a bold simplicity, after his release from the tower near Antwerp, he in 1541 sought and obtained an audience with the emperor at Ratisbon, beseeching him to deliver his subjects from a false religion, and restore to them the true Christianity. He seems to have been as plain with his Majesty as he had been with his subjects, and whatever Charles thought of this applicant's appeal, he treated him kindly, and promised to do what was best. Franzisco felt encouraged, and had further interviews with royalty; but some of the people about court, we are told, "would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor prevented them."¹

But Franzisco was detained prisoner, and was conveyed to Spain with the army which accompanied the emperor. There he was to be tried on the charge of heresy, and there he was thrown into the hands of the Inquisitors. On the way to his own country, he is reported to have exclaimed—"You see these chains, but my captivity, so shameful in the eyes of men, is for the Divine glory. These hands and feet are bound, and I am fastened to this cart so that I cannot move, but my spirit is free, I can rise to the throne above, and rejoice in the presence of God."

He was carried to Valladolid in 1542, and delivered to the Inquisitors, who cast him into one of their dungeons, where he remained for two years. In spite of all endeavours to induce a recantation, he continued firm, saying, "It is impossible for us in our own strength and by our own good works to merit eternal life.

¹ Droin's '*Hist. de la Ref. en Espagne*,' i. 227.

The Son of God has poured out His blood to clean us from sin and to appease the Father's wrath by the sacrifice of Himself—a sacrifice unique and eternal. The doctrines of the mass, of purgatory, of indulgences, and of image worship, are blasphemies and profanations of the blood of Jesus Christ." In terms like these contemporaries condensed the oft-repeated testimonies which the sufferer bore to his own deep-seated beliefs as he stood before his judges. Of course he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and was conducted with other prisoners, probably Jews and relapsed Mahometans, to the public square, where they were burnt. He refused to do homage to a crucifix, declaring that Christians did not adore a piece of wood.

He died with characteristic heroism. Making an involuntary motion when fastened to the stake, it was thought he was on the point of uttering a confession, upon which a respite was ordered. "Did you envy my happiness?" he asked. These words exasperated the officers, and he was immediately thrust back upon the piled-up blazing fagots. The priests forbade that anyone should pray for this obstinate culprit; but some of the imperial body-guard present, who had been favourably impressed, gathered up the victim's ashes as relics of a martyr; and the English ambassador, then at Valladolid, where the court was residing—for it was then the Spanish capital—carried away some of Franzisco's bones.¹

James Spreng, who survived his friend, bears testimony to his virtues. The record is preserved in the archives of St. Thomas's Church, Strasburg. "The Lord will crush Antichrist also in Spain. The blood of our Francis crieth from the ground. I found

¹ Foxe's account is drawn from Crispin's '*Histoire des Martyrs*.' So is De Castro's, who is followed by M. Droin in his '*Hist. de la Ref. en Espagne*,' i. 222-231. In a subsequent chapter an account of the numerous Valladolid martyrdoms will be given, but I think it best to anticipate the fate of Romano in connection with his previous wanderings.

him a treasure in my house. He drank deeply of the Divine Spirit. He glorified God in his death, by which he entered an infinitely better life than that he left. I have no doubt the confession he made moved the hearts of many, and that his blood will be the seed of the Spanish Church. Unlearned and reputed mad in this world, before angels and the Church of God he is proclaimed learned and illustrious.”¹

Two more Spanish Protestants were natives of Burgos. They were brothers, bearing the name of Enzinas, which means *the ever-green oak*, and, according to a pedantic fashion of the age, this was translated into Greek, and the elder brother appears as Francis Dryander.² We shall call him Franzisco de Enzinas. The younger was called Jayme, or James.

The latter was sent to the University of Louvain, in the Netherlands. Pedro de Lerma, uncle to the two brothers, said, “I can no longer remain in Spain. It is impossible for men of learning to dwell in safety in the midst of so many persecutors.” More freedom of opinion existed at Louvain in 1540, when Jayme de Enzinas was student, than could commonly be found in old collegiate establishments at that period. Elegant literature was cultivated, and the doctrines of the Reformation were discussed. Jayme caught the rising spirit, and became imbued with the newly-promulgated truths. He became intimate with the learned George Cassander, who, acquainted with the leading divines of his age, fruitlessly attempted to reconcile the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Jayme removed from Louvain to Paris, where he was filled with horror at the sight of an execution, when the executioner with pincers tore out the tongue of a martyr. He

¹ ‘Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,’ 155. I give the substance of the Latin MS. printed by Dr. Boehmer.

² There was a third brother Juan, who need not be noticed here. Another Juan de Enzinas was a poet, who wrote eclogues, songs and romances.

returned to Louvain, and thence went to Antwerp, where he printed a catechism, which he had drawn up for the use of his countrymen. It is not unlikely that Jayme met with the prior of the Austin Friars, and heard the Gospel from his lips. The father of Jayme, who intended that he should enter the Church, wished him to visit the city of Rome, a journey which was not at all to his taste. But he went, and after some years' residence in the city, unable to obtain permission from his father to return to Spain, he resolved to visit Germany; when about to depart he was denounced and brought before the Dominicans, who had charge of the Holy Office. For a Spaniard to be charged with Lutheranism was quite a new thing. That pure Castilian blood should be so polluted amazed the authorities, and intense was the interest taken in his examination by cardinals and bishops. Jayme stood composed before his judges, and defended the doctrines which led to his condemnation.¹ Vain attempts were made to induce him to recant. He persevered, and died at the stake, probably near the foot of the bridge of St. Angelo, in 1546 or 1547.²

Franzisco Enzinas, his elder brother, must have been shocked at hearing of this tragedy. He had been at Louvain in 1541, and in May had written to John á Lasco, plainly disclosing Protestant sentiments. From Antwerp, in September of the same year, 1541, he sent to an Oxford divine a letter respecting Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was then in the Netherlands. Gardiner had been at Louvain, and had offended the professors by maintaining the authority of his master, Henry VIII., as head of the English Church in matters political and secular. There was much disputation. The bishop adhered to his position. "The divines, contrary,

¹ 'Actes des Martyrs,' 159; iii. 170.

² M'Crie says the former ('Hist.' 180), but D'Aubigné thinks, with more probability the latter, 'Hist. of Ref.' viii. 118.

did stiffly maintain their opinion, and divers times openly, with exclamation, called the said bishop an excommunicate person and a schismatic, to the no little reproach and infamy of the English nation.”¹

In pursuance of his desire to see Philip Melancthon, the elder Enzinas travelled to Wittenberg, and there he resided in the Reformer's house.² Enzinas matriculated in the university, October 27, 1541, and no doubt became acquainted with Martin Luther.

The Spanish student already entertained an idea of translating the Greek New Testament into Castilian. Luther at that time had made a German version, and Enzinas wished to follow his example. His countrymen stood in need of such a work. Mention is made of ancient versions existing in MSS., never published. One which was printed had been suppressed by the Inquisition.³ No accessible version of the New Testament was in existence at the period when Enzinas undertook the task. It required labour. He devoted himself to it with assiduity. After remaining at Wittenberg till the beginning of 1543, he departed for the Netherlands. Persecution was rife in Louvain and Brussels. On his arrival at the first of these places, he learned that the night before, twenty-eight Protestants had been arrested and imprisoned; and, on revisiting the town, he witnessed the execution of people whose sentiments were accordant with his own. About the same time two women were there burned alive as obstinate heretics. The state of things at Brussels also distressed him.

Hoping to get a sanction for printing his translation, he submitted his MS. to some of the Louvain doctors; but, as might be expected, this was in vain. Coming from Wittenberg, “he

¹ Foxe, vi. 140. He prints the letter.

² See ‘Homes and Haunts of Luther.’

³ See p. 6 of this volume.

smelt of sulphur,"—an expression which signified that a man was a Protestant. He, however, determined to persevere, and committed his work to an Antwerp printer. Before the year ended the volume came from the press. Enzinas prefaced a dedication to the emperor.¹

When the book was finished Enzinas procured admission to Charles V. His Majesty, then at Brussels, was sitting at table,

¹ The following was the title of the book : 'El nvevo testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Saluador Jesu Christo, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana, por Francisco de Enzinas, dedicado á la Cesarea Magested. Habla Dios Joseu I. No se aparte el libro de esta ley de tu boca. Antes con atento animo estu-diaras en el de dia y de noche : para, q̄ guardes y bagas conforme, a todo a-quello que esta en el escrito. Por que entonzes haras prospero tu camino, y te gobernaras con prudencia, MDXLIII.'

Colophon : "Acabose de imprimir este libro en la in-signe çibdad de Enueres, en casa de Estewan Mierdmanno, impressor de libros á 25 de Octubre, en el anno del Señor de MDXLIII."

The 8th verse of the first chapter of Joshua in this title page by Enzinas is pretty closely followed in the middle of the sentence by Valera in his translation. The words at the beginning and end are different. A notice of Valera's translation will be found in my chapter on Spanish exiles at the close of this volume.

Some Spanish verses were inserted at the beginning of the volume, which have been translated by Mr. Wiffen as follows :

"He is no heir of mine who shuns
The Testament I leave My sons,
Nor seeks as legatee to read
The rich provisions of the deed ;
Much less so he who would defer
To be My will's executor.
Too many such ; and there are those
Who reading, still remain My foes,
And show by blood of Mine they shed,
How ill, alas ! they've profited.

But thou who redest, ponder here
My name, My nature—Love and Fear !
For thee I suffered, wept and died,
The cursed, the scourged, the crucified ;
Now crowned and one with Deity,
I pour My daily prayer for thee.

"graceful and dignified ;" he rose, "and leaned on a thin cane," as he listened to a report from one of his generals. Enzinas, led by the Bishop of Jaen, approached, and asked the emperor to accept what he had brought.

"What is it ?" asked Charles.

"It is part of Holy Scripture, sire," replied the subject, "which we call the New Testament, faithfully translated by me into Spanish, wherein is principally contained the evangelical history, and the Epistles of the Apostles. I wished to have your Majesty, the protector of religion and pure faith, for judge and propitious examiner of this labour, and I humbly beseech that the work, approved by your Majesty, be recommended to the Christian people under your imperial authority."

"Are you the author of the book ?" (meaning, one would think, the translation) inquired the monarch.

"The Holy Spirit," rejoined the translator, "is its Author, inspired by whose breath men of God have handed these Divine oracles to all mankind in the Greek language. I am only a subordinate person and feeble organ who have translated the book into the Spanish language."

"Into the Castilian ?" proceeded the emperor.

"Into our Castilian language, sire ; of which work," said Enzinas, "I now beseech you to be patron and defender according to your clemency."

"Be it as you ask, provided there be nothing suspicious in the book," was the reply.

Wouldst thou then join Me in the skies,
Learn from this fading world to rise ;
Turn daily o'er with heart intent,
This volume of my Testament,
With lowly minds and willing hands,
Reading and doing My commands."

"The Brothers Wiffen," by S. R. Pattison, 361.

"Nothing in the whole work, sire, is suspicious, unless the voice of God which sounds from heaven, the redemption by His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour, who proceeds from the bosom of the Eternal Father, be suspicious to Christians."¹

So ended the conversation, Charles adding his consent anew.

But the hope thus raised was quickly dissipated; for the emperor's confessor saw a good deal in the book very suspicious; and when Enzinas had an interview with him in December, he was charged with having been in Germany at Melancthon's house, and with having praised the Reformer's virtues and doctrines. Enzinas replied in a spirited tone, which no doubt made the matter worse, and in the end a detachment of soldiers seized him as he left the residence of his Majesty's confessor. Conveyed to prison, he was afterwards examined before the imperial council, when inquiries were made into his connection with Melancthon, and a great deal followed which plunged him into trouble and sorrow. A visit from his father and mother, who reproached him for the disgrace he had brought on his family, gave him some pain; but he received comfort from Protestants in Brussels, then amounting to more than four hundred. Family disgrace was a constant topic with Spanish Catholics when expostulating with Protestant relatives. The question of right and wrong, truth and error, was merged in the consideration that heresy polluted the blood, and made its victim an outcast from society, more degraded than the worst of felons. In December, 1544, a formal indictment was handed to the accused, which he prepared to answer; but in February of the next year, through contrivance or carelessness of the gaoler, he easily managed

¹ This conversation is given on the authority of the 'Memoirs of Enzinas.' A French version of the Latin text has been published by M. Campan, Brussels. The Memoirs are rather dramatic, and lose nothing as rendered by D'Aubigné, viii. 89, *et seq.* He relates some most romantic incidents, entitling them "A Legend." There is a remarkable letter from Enzinas to Calvin, printed in Calvin's 'Opera,' xii. 126.

to escape. He called on a friend, scaled the town wall, and was soon far on the road from Brussels to Mechlin.

By the middle of March, 1545, he reached Wittenberg again, when Melancthon requested him to write a report of his adventures. This he did, and from that source most of the details I have given are derived.

Though Enzinas had escaped from prison he did not enjoy security. He received a summons to return, and with it a threat of confiscation and punishment. We find him at Strasburg, under Bucer's roof in the month of August, 1546. Then he wandered away to Zurich, next to Constance, and back again to Bâle, where he lodged in the house of a learned bookseller, named John Operimus, and whilst there carried through the press some works which he had composed.

He afterwards criticized the proceedings at Trent after the first year's sitting of the council, and vehemently attacked pope and emperor. Having married he came to England in 1548, when King Edward VI. sat on the throne. In the following year he appears at Canterbury and Lambeth, enjoying the hospitality of Archbishop Cranmer. "We yesterday," says Martin Bucer, under date April 26, 1549, "waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, that most benevolent and kind father of the Churches, and of godly men, who received and entertained us as brethren, not as dependants. We found at his house, what was most gratifying to us, our most dear friend, Dr. Peter Martyr, with his wife and his attendant Julius, Master Immanuel (Tremellius) with his wife, and also Dryander (Enzinas), and some other godly Frenchmen whom we had sent before us."¹ Afterwards we lose sight of the wanderer, and then find him writing to John Calvin. "I am working," he says, "with good conscience, God be my witness. If the people of this time will not thank me, I hope there will come others in the future, of better judgment, to whom our studies will not be

¹ 'Original Letters relative to the English Reformation.' 2nd Series, 535.

useless.”¹ That hope is now being fulfilled. After visiting Geneva, where he saw Calvin for the first time, Enzinas returned to Strasburg; then, after living two years and a half in easy circumstances, he died on the 30th of December, 1552, from a pestilence raging in the city.

¹ Enzinas' 'Epist.' lviii. Dr. Boehmer, in his 'Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,' i. 133, gives a memoir of Francisco Enzinas and his brother Jayme.

CHAPTER V.

VALENCIA AND CATALONIA.

HAVING completed a brief historical sketch of what a few well-known Spanish reformers were doing in the Netherlands and Germany, it is time for me to resume my quest of local memories in Spain itself.

From Cuenca to Valencia the most picturesque route is through Alarcon, a Moorish city—"on a craggy peninsula hemmed around by the Jucar"—with crumbling walls, gates and bridges, "choice bits for the artist,"—through Minglanilla, rich in an inexhaustible salt quarry, like the mines near Cracow—and through Requena, an ancient town in an almost impregnable position, watered by the Oleana. Valencia has battlemented walls, arched gates; the noble *puerta de Serranos* reminds one by its outline of an old English barbican, presenting a gallery resting on enormous corbels, also tracery panneling above the archway. The aspect of the city is rather oriental; and eminently noticeable are the charming arched windows called *ajimez*,¹ "literally windows by which the sun enters,"—no bad name, by the way, for books and teachers in the cause of religious reformation, which it is my business to describe in this volume.

Valencia is full of memories connected with the Cid. His majestic form, as suggested in poetry and embodied in art, meets us everywhere, especially on the heights which he is said to have ascended with his wife and daughters, when he had captured the

¹ Street's 'Gothic Architecture in Spain,' 269.

place after a twenty months' siege at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Chronicles of the Cid, translated by Southey, abound in references to Valencia. The cathedral has a lofty *cimborro*, or lantern, full of delicate tracery, which surmounts the intersection of the nave and transepts. The *coro* or choir, instead of being at the east end—which was the original position, and is maintained in Europe generally—occupies the nave at Valencia, and is an arrangement noticeable in other Spanish cathedrals. It appears to have been introduced about the fifteenth century; and therefore was in existence at the time of the Reformation, when, in some cases, men enlightened by the study of Scripture proclaimed Evangelical truth from pulpits standing near the transepts, which were crowded by eager listeners; others thundered out from them anathemas against Protestant heresies.

So early as 1350, Reformers appeared at Valencia, under the name of Beghards. The name originated in Germany. It is difficult to make out exactly what they were, as, according to custom, when people assail a corrupt system monstrous accusations are brought against them. One thing only is certain, that their opposition to the dominant Church often ran into mystical speculations, which receive a good or a bad interpretation according to the previous opinions of the critic. The Beghards spread over Europe; they were found in the south of France, they swept over the Pyrenees as far as Valencia. At the time just referred to, Nicolas Roselli was Inquisitor-General of Aragon; he discovered a company of these hated people, having for their leader somebody called Jayme Juste. The inquisitor managed to persuade many of the members to recant what he deemed their errors, and at an *auto de fé* they were reconciled to the Church; Juste, however, was made an example of, and was committed to prison for life. Three of the accused died before their cases had been decided; and, not having been penitent, their bones were dug out of the grave and cast into the fire. Another

auto de fé followed in 1360, when the old story of recantation and reconciliation, on the one hand, and of constancy and fiery martyrdom, on the other, is sadly repeated by the chronicler of the Inquisition.¹

I find no traces of what were called Lutheran opinions in Valencia at the time of the Protestant Reformation. The Beghards do not appear to have made any permanent impression. The Inquisition did its work effectually; we discover traces of its activity at the commencement of the seventeenth century, but in a different direction from that of its anti-Protestant proceedings.

A certain Archbishop Juan Ribera—who died in 1611—canonised as El Santo Ribera, figures prominently as an enemy of the Moriscos, or Spanish Moors, who had undergone compulsory baptism, and were suspected of a lingering and strong attachment to the religion of their Mohammedan fathers. At length they were expelled from the country. Cruelties inflicted by Moors on Spaniards, and by Spaniards on Moors, had created between them a bitter spirit of alienation and revenge, and their final expulsion was an act of tremendous injustice. Juan Ribera regarded it as a Christian duty, and actually represented it not only as an adoption of the policy of King David, but as an imitation of the example of Christ. A most extraordinary sermon, preached by the Archbishop in the Cathedral of Valencia, has been preserved. It is from the text, “I would they were cut off that trouble you.”²

The preacher says, after extolling the mildness of David, “You must now hear something of the zeal that accompanied this mildness, and the fury wherewith he flew upon God’s enemies who spoke blasphemies, and committed sacrilege in His house, the zeal whereof, saith he, has confounded me; and the beholding the offences that are committed has destroyed me—the abhorrence

¹ Llorente, i. 82–83.

² The sermon is printed in Geddes’ ‘Miscellaneous Tracts,’ i. 169.

I have for those that will not love God being so vehement, that it has cast me into a hectic fever, which consumes me ; neither did he only in his lifetime revenge the injuries that were done to God, but at his death he charged his son Solomon, to revenge them ; so that in David we see a king that is mild and rigid, merciful and severe, a pardoner and a revenger ; and that was both patient and zealous."

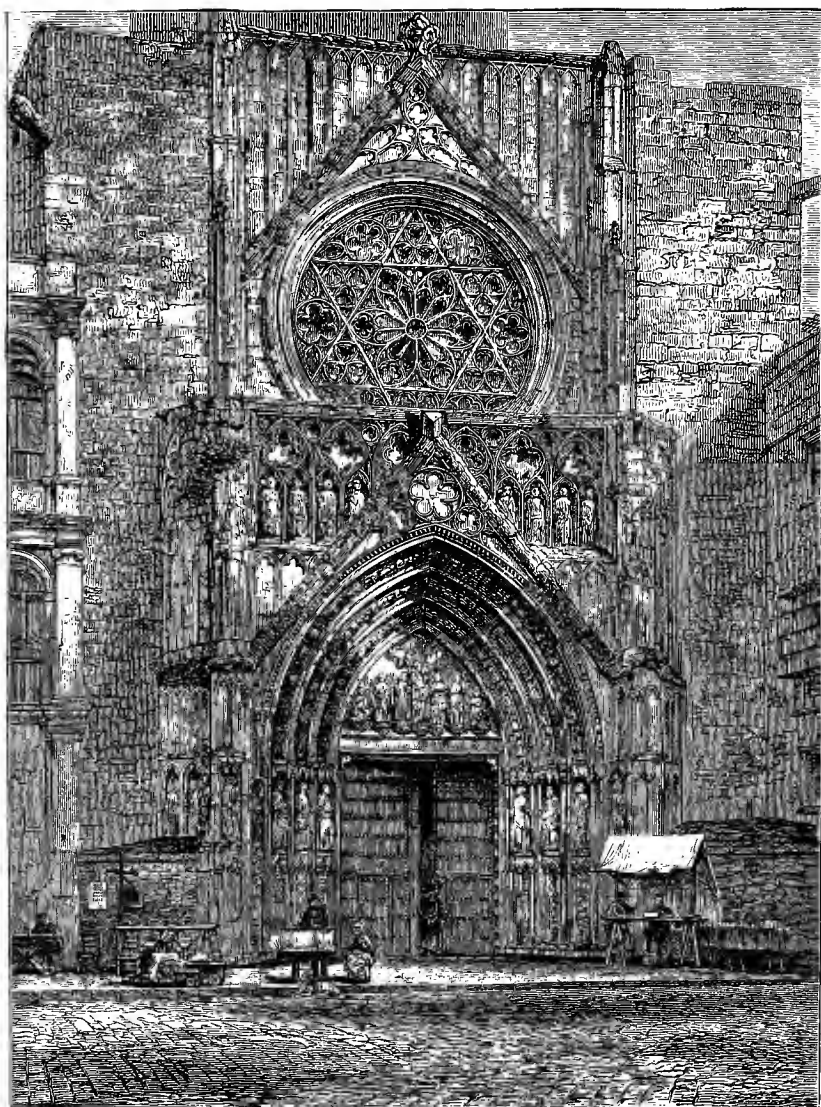
More than this—the preacher cites the example of our Lord. These are his words, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, says the evangelist, went into the Temple, and seeing that what was done there was contrary to God's honour, the zealous God took the cords wherewith the sheep and oxen were bound, and having made a whip of them, He went about shaking it at those cattle and men, driving them out of the Temple ; and, as to those that sold pigeons, He commanded them to be gone with them, and, going up to the tables of the money-changers, He threw them down upon the ground, scattering about the money that was upon them. Now let us consider this fact, and we shall see that besides its being the greatest miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. Jerome says it was—who affirms it to be greater than the raising of Lazarus from the dead, the repressing of so many and in the sight of so great a concourse of people, after such a manner, none of them offering to lay hold of Him, or denying to obey Him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving His death ; being a thing that nothing but the Almighty God could have done—to pass over this, and to come to that which men and angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one of our Saviour's mildness, modesty, and composure to do such a work—to whip men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break tables, and throw money about, not appearing to be actions suitable to the benignity and practice of our Lord Jesus Christ—of whom the prophet saith that He should be patient and gentle as a lamb, and that when they should take His clothes from Him, He would not

open His mouth, as was accomplished at His most holy passion, and who, when He was cursed, cursed not again, when He was tormented, did not complain, having resigned up His will to His Father Eternal, who judgeth righteously ;—and yet this very mild lamb, whose patience and silence under injuries was so much admired by the perverse president, when there was an occasion offered of remedying things that were offensive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may say, His composedness, He changed the mildness of a sheep into the fierceness and boisterousness of a lion.” The sermon—which by the way in its rambling sentences presents a fair specimen of Spanish pulpit oratory at that period in point of style—exhibits the very principle and spirit of those proceedings which were carried on against heretics in general, as well as against Moriscos in particular. Ribera speaks of *their* heresies, and throughout he lashes his congregation into a state of revengeful excitement against all whom Spanish Catholics denounced as the enemies of Christ. I have quoted the words of this prelate, to show the way in which it was the fashion to justify the most atrocious acts of persecution ; and the same false attempt at justification was made in all cases of Protestant imprisonment, torture and martyrdom.

But, like some other persecuting ecclesiastics, Ribera blended with hatred of heresy great zeal for the moral purification of the Church. Amongst other reforms, he sought to extinguish abuses in the Valencian University. Efforts of such a kind alarmed the professors and some of the clergy. They brought countercharges against him. Having persecuted others, he was persecuted himself. His enemies reproached him with the illegitimacy of his birth—he was the natural son of a nobleman—and fastened on the street walls, lampoons and condemnatory texts of Scripture, pointed at his character and reputation. In one of the Valencian churches prayers were offered for the archbishop’s conversion, that he might be enlightened in the faith and escape eternal death.

The man himself, it is pleasant to find, manifested a different spirit, and was unwilling to be avenged on his calumniators ; his friends would not allow them to proceed with impunity. They procured the punishment of one Gaelt, who had been a ringleader of the party formed against Ribera, and the man was thrown into prison. Thus the tables were now turned, and those who would have been glad to see the engines of the Inquisition opened upon the archbishop had to bear the brunt of its wrath themselves. Unexpected ways in which the Holy Office was worked at the time of the Reformation, and afterwards, will appear repeatedly in this volume.

The province of Valencia, in the estimation of the Moors, was a strip of heaven fallen upon earth ; and the city of Valencia retains still signs of its Moorish occupation. It was recovered from the hands of the infidels by the valorous Cid, who kept it under his dominion to the day of his death. An Italian impress has succeeded that of the Moor and that of the Cid ; and this appears very plainly in the large cathedral, which, from its original Gothic character, has been transformed into the likeness of a Jesuit church at Rome. The *altar mayor* when I saw it was covered with embroidered *frontales*, as they are called, bought in London by two Valencian merchants, when old St. Paul's was stripped of its popish decorations ; and it is a significant circumstance that the "old clothes" cast off by England at the time of the Reformation were taken over to be worn by the Church in Spain, then becoming more papistical than ever. In the cathedral it was that Archbishop Ribera preached the sermon I have noticed ; and his portrait may be seen amongst portraits of other Valencian prelates, preserved within a large room near the grand entrance door ; he certainly appears in his picture with a countenance more mild than ferocious. His palace is close to the cathedral, and the sight of it recalls the troubles he endured through the malice of his enemies, and the proceedings of the



CATHEDRAL DOOR, VALENCIA.

Inquisition. The Mercado, or market-place, bright now-a-days with flowers and fruit in the early morning, was the scene of tournaments and executions. Here the Cid put his prisoners to death, and here it was that the early heretics I have mentioned perished in the flames.

There is every Friday, in the Colegio del Patriarca, a ceremony described in guide books as singularly affecting—"The imagination is worked up into a breathless curiosity." But the ceremony really consists in nothing more than letting down an altar picture by hidden machinery, and then undrawing a curtain, which reveals a large crucifix, with a candle burning on each side. The singing of the *Miserere* which accompanies the process is vastly inferior to that which I have heard in Rome. But the whole thing illustrates a craving for sensational representations, still prevalent in the Spanish Church; a craving much deeper in the sixteenth century than now. Another example of a similar kind I witnessed in rude preparations going on at the end of Easter week for celebrating the festival of San Vicente, the patron saint of the city. A sort of mystery or miracle play was to be acted in the streets the Sunday afterwards.

I cannot leave Valencia without adverting to an illustration afforded there, and in the neighbouring Catalonia, of one cause serving to explain the failure attendant on the Spanish Reformation. No one can visit the ecclesiastical edifices of the city, and examine what they still contain, without being impressed by the greatness of the wealth, and the consequent influence, which in days of yore were possessed by the archbishops and clergy; and if we penetrate into Catalonia as far as Tarragona and its vicinity, there we discover further illustrations of the same order. The cathedral crowning the heights, which in that city command such magnificent views of the blue Mediterranean, is a monument of architectural magnificence never to be forgotten by any one who has seen it; and its treasures increase the impression received

at Valencia. What an enormously rich institution must the Spanish Church have been! But the impression is vastly increased by an excursion to Poblet, a few miles from Tarragona, better known to French and German than to English travellers and archæologists. The monastery there—which in 1835 was attacked and partially destroyed by furious insurgents in the neighbourhood, no doubt on account of the oppression practised by the brotherhood—exhibits, after all the damage done, what must have been the extent, the beauty, the splendour and the resources of that Cistercian establishment in the days of its palmy pride. If it had a few rivals, yet no other convent in Europe could surpass it. You wander amongst courts, cloisters, and dormitories, through stately halls which once contained innumerable books and MSS., through a palace appropriated for royal visitors, and through a stately church with a nave of seven bays. The architectural grandeur may be said to remain; and the mutilated ornaments still indicate what a profusion of artistic wealth must have once graced the walls. Kings and nobles were brought to Poblet for burial; their shattered tombs may be seen, and the monks themselves were of the purest Spanish blood; no others were admitted.¹ What a hold, then, over the nation must the Spanish

¹ A good set of illustrations can be obtained from the guardian of the ruins, with a brief historical notice of them in Spanish and French. A sketch of the origin, foundation and curiosities of the abbey, in Spanish, by D. Andreu de Bofarull, may also be had.

It is interesting to an Englishman to find in one of the chapels a marble slab bearing date 1731, over the remains of an "illustrious English emigrant," "Felipe de Worhon, Marqués de Malbursi, y de Cacharloch, Conde Visconde Baron, y Caballero," he is called in the Spanish Guide-Book—which adds that his medal of St. George and other insignia of the order were transmitted to King George of England. The fact is, that the Pretender had made Wharton Knight of the Garter, and it was to him at Rome that the badges were sent. This worthless personage who is buried at Poblet, was no other than Philip, Duke of Wharton, the subject of Pope's satire, who, reduced to want, was sheltered by the brethren of the monastery. He was grandson of the Puritan Lord Wharton.

Church have had three centuries ago! What a power in the State it must have been, entwined as it was with royalty, with princely and noble families, and all that was great and glorious in the land.

A few Reformers of the upper class, who did not touch the masses of the people, could effect but little amongst the aristocracy, and that little we shall see was destroyed in flames of fire.

CHAPTER VI.

CORDOVA.

SOME writers, without intending it, have indulged in exaggerated ideas of the extent of the Spanish Reformation, by simply dwelling on what occurred in certain places, without noticing how many districts there were which the movement never touched. In travelling from Valencia to Cordova by the railway route, I passed through a circuit of nearly four hundred miles, with numerous towns along the line. We do not know how many inhabitants were there three hundred years ago, but there must then have been a great number of people occupying this part of the country ; yet I find no evidence of the Protestant Reformation having made way amongst them. Vast portions of the country must have remained totally unaffected by the Evangelical excitement which existed in certain centres I shall have to describe. The scenery between the two cities just mentioned is, for the greater part of the way, very uninteresting ; indeed, it consists of plains and hills brown and grey, with little vegetation, except near Jativa, where the Huerta spreads out in a charming oasis, rich in orange groves, vineyards and rice grounds—the latter, when I saw them, however, abounding only in the hope of summer plenty. There were besides magnificent gorges in the mountain tracts of La Mancha, which Cervantes has immortalised in his ‘*Don Quixote*.’

Of no city can it more emphatically be said than of Cordova that the glory is departed. “*Ichabod*” is written on its walls and gates ; yet, ascending the heights, which stretch towards the clouds

on the north-east side, one can see how well ten times the number of the present inhabitants could have found a home on the same side of the Guadalquivir. The scenery is magnificent and beautiful; rocky paths leading to the far-famed hermitages, where Eremites still linger in superstitious seclusion, run between orange groves, vineyards, and olive grounds, sprinkled over with pleasant country houses surrounded by gardens. Tall aloes stand as sentinels by the roadside, and hedges of cacti separate one division of cultivated land from another, whilst charming dells open here and there, nourishing in their bosoms wild flowers and ferns. The distant plains and sloping hills I saw in spring-tide verdure; delicate tints of green contrasting with, or rather melting into, broad belts of purple across the upper landscape.

The interior of the city, with the exception of the cathedral, has little to recommend it. There is no imposing Plaza, no magnificent *Ayuntamiento*; the streets are narrow and mostly mean, though the passer-by gets often, through the entrance door, charming glimpses of the shrubs and flowers which deck the *patio* of the dwelling.

Of the gorgeous architecture of Moorish Cordova, a magnificent relic is preserved in the far-famed mosque, certainly one of the wonders of the world. No painting in colour, no engraving or photograph, no verbal description of it whatever, can give an accurate idea of what it is as a whole. The thousand and more pillars, which it contains in rows, have been compared to a forest, and truly enough they resemble an enormous plantation, but it is that of a garden of *quincunces*, worthy of the eloquence of Sir Thomas Brown. Looked at obliquely, they appear a confused maze; but examined at certain points, they fall into perfect order, and become avenues, bordered with marble columns, and crossed by horse-shoe arches, striped with broad red bands. The mosque is now turned into a cathedral. The Mihrab remains, a perfect gem of exquisite tracery and sparkling mosaics, just opposite the Puerta del Perdon, which

faces the beautiful court of orange trees ; but a gorgeous *coro* or choir, leading up to a high altar, has been inserted in the midst of the mysterious edifice ; paintings and statues of saints and angels appear amongst Moorish ornamentation, which would not admit of pictures and images. Incongruities enough there are, when one recognises interminglings of classical, Byzantine, Oriental, Gothic and Renaissance elements ; but if the combination be inharmonious, it is striking, effective, and even fascinating to the last degree.

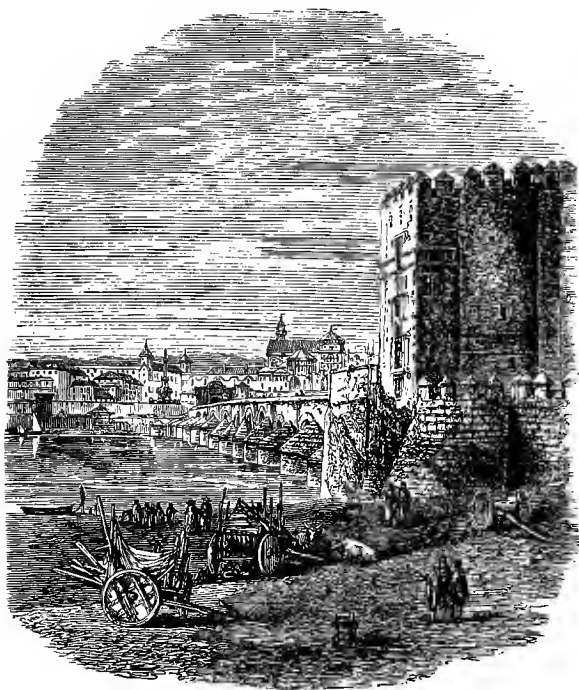
Here it was that archbishops, who figured at the Reformation era, presided on their thrones and ministered at the altar ; in the palace on the west side they dwelt in princely state. And the Alcazar—of which two massive battlemented towers of yellow stone, and another round one of greyish tint, still exist—served for the office of the Inquisition. Its dismal iron-barred windows are symbols of the cells, in which many a pitiable victim was incarcerated for heresy.

The glory of Cordova under the Moors has supplied an inexhaustible theme to eloquent historians. Some of them have on this subject vied with Arabs themselves in gorgeousness of description. Gibbon, in his sonorous fashion, rehearses the statistics of its population and its wealth, with a betrayal, however, of considerable scepticism lurking under the folds of his stately diction ; Prescott, though honestly avowing doubts of reports dropped by Saracenic authors, yet falls into the prevalent strain, and tells of Cordova's delightful situation in a richly cultivated plain, washed by the Guadalquivir ; of houses surrounded with groves and fountains ; of squares and private courtyards sparkling with jets of water, fed from the Sierra Morena ; and of baths supplied from the same source, whilst rivulets conducted into Moorish palaces diffused coolness deliciously grateful to people languishing under a southern sun.¹

The rise and fall of the Cordovan kingdom, as painted on the pages

¹ 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' i. 282.

of national historians, are like the incidents of romance. Distance lends enchantment to the view, and the further removed from the period when the changes occurred, the richer the azure hues in which the mountain heights of past ages came to be enrobed. Primitive annals are simple and barren enough. Seen, however,



MOORISH BRIDGE AND GATE, CORDOVA.

some centuries afterwards, they created in the imagination of patriotic and poetical chroniclers marvellous visions of heroic deeds and tragic sorrows. Condensed into plain prosaic words, the story runs thus:—In A.D. 711, on the plain of the river Guadalete near Xeres, and not far from Cadiz, King Roderic, last of the Goths, with his proud army fell before the valiant Tarik and

his cavalry. In A.D. 1236, Ferdinand III. of Castile won back the domain, and placed it under Catholic rule. Within a hundred years of the Prophet's flight, his empire and religion were planted in the Spanish peninsula ;—and, after lasting five centuries, both were rooted up at Cordova, which had been so long the Mohammedan capital of Southern Europe.

The Moor made a magnificent mark on the architecture of Spain. "The Mosque at Cordova in the ninth century, the Alcazar and Giralda at Seville in the thirteenth, the Court of Lions in the Alhambra in the fourteenth, some of the houses in Toledo in the fifteenth century, are examples of what the Moors were building during the period of the Middle Ages."¹ The Moors borrowed nothing from the Christians ; the Christians, with all their aversion, could not but admit the genius of the Moors.

During the same period, until the fall of Granada, Arab industry under the Caliph fertilised broad wastes by ingenious irrigation, by cultivating produce before unknown in the west, by planting the sugar-cane, by rearing the silk-worm, and by spinning cotton and wool, to be made into fabrics of fair colours upon the looms of the turbaned weavers. The Arab population incredibly increased. Two hundred thousand dwelling-houses are said to have existed, which, however small and hut-like, would accommodate an enormous amount of people, bringing with them eastern habits of frugality.

Through Cordova and its suburbs, it is said, you could travel ten miles after sunset by the light of lamps, as in modern London.

The wealth and luxury of the place were on the same scale. The revenue of this miniature kingdom is reported to have reached six millions sterling, fifteen times as much as flowed into the coffers of our William the Conqueror ; and of the voluptuous accommodations in rich men's houses, however forbidding the outer walls, an idea can be formed by any one who has visited Damascus, and reclined on divans such as line the orange and

¹ Street's 'Gothic Architecture in Spain,' 409.

fountain-decked courts of eastern countries. Stately mosques—six hundred of them, Gibbon says—crowded the streets, and above the city walls and towers minarets, like forest trees, clustered together, whence came a daily call to prayer at the noontide hour. The learning promoted in Cordovan colleges is acknowledged to have exceeded that of Christian Europe before the fourteenth century; for whereas a few score volumes on the shelves of a monastic library formed a rare treasure, Arabian writers talk of 600,000 volumes. Allowing for oriental imagination, so extravagant where numbers are concerned, and remembering that it was common with Arabs to count each book or section as a separate volume, still the catalogues of authors must have been surprisingly large; and Gibbon informs us, he had in his possession a splendid folio, printed at Madrid, in 1760, containing a list of Arabic MSS. reaching the number of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one. “Cordova possessed a greater abundance of books than any other city of Spain.”¹

No one acquainted with mediæval literature can in Cordova fail to think of the illustrious citizen born within its walls—Averroes—him, as Dante sings,

“who made,
That commentary vast.”²

Using as his original, not a Greek, but a Syrian copy of Aristotle, he, as translator and expositor, opened the science and logic of the Greek sage not only to Arabic students, but to Latin Schoolmen, who availed themselves of second-hand versions made from Arabic renderings by Averroes. Thus in the thirteenth century, he afforded help to theologians, in the maintenance of a system, afterwards brought terribly to bear on Moors and Jews and heretics, who filled the prisons and perished in the fires of the Inquisition.

Far less of intolerance was shown by Moors toward their

¹ Washington Irving's ‘Alhambra,’ 239.

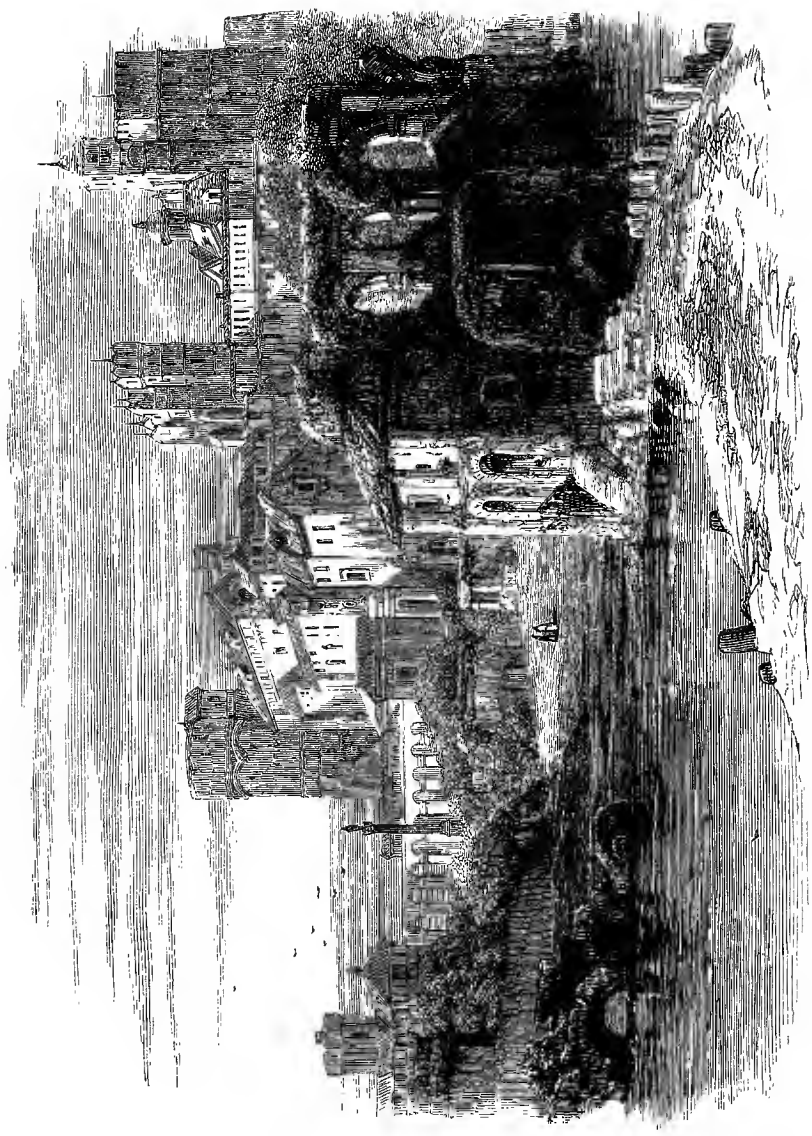
² ‘Inferno,’ Cant. IV. 144.

Catholic neighbours, than their Catholic neighbours afterwards showed to them. Though Mahomet extended his early victories by fire and sword, his successors, when they had subdued a Catholic country, permitted the vanquished to continue their worship, by compounding for permission to do so. No doubt, atrocities were committed by the Saracens in war, and victims were immolated under Abderahman II. and III.; but these outbursts of violence were far exceeded by the persistent cruelties of the Spanish Inquisitors.

The persecution of the Jews is a frightful story. Infamous and incredible reports were sometimes raised against them; but the truthful charges urged in a contemporary chronicle were that, if they brought children to be baptised, as they were compelled to do, they washed out the stains on their return home; that they used oil instead of lard; that they would keep the Passover, and would not eat pork; that they feasted in Lent, and lighted up their synagogues with lamps. Dominicans tormented the Hebrew race. Albigenses and Jews were about equally hateful. Israelitism was an intolerable heresy before Protestantism was thought of in Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella have much to answer for on this score. They encouraged the Holy Office in its diabolical business, and popes backed up the iniquitous partnership. Isabella, naturally amiable, unwillingly entered on the work, and relented when she heard of the cruelties which were practised; but royal confessors and learned theologians countenanced the undertaking as acceptable in the sight of Almighty God, and in this way silenced her Majesty's scruples.

The excesses of the Inquisition in its warfare against Judaism were such as to rouse the indignation of Cordovan citizens; and in 1506 there was a popular revolt against merciless tyranny. The case was so remarkable and characteristic that it justifies a specific allusion to it in these pages.

There was a man named Lucero, some called him Tenebrero,



PRISON OF THE INQUISITION, CORDOVA.

who presided over the Holy Office at Cordova. His inhumanity and reckless course of proceeding almost exceeds belief. He caused a number of respectable people to be arrested, and accused them of indefinite crimes, such as being false penitents or imperfect '*confitentos*,' whatever that may mean. Some of them seem to have been fascinated as by the gaze of a basilisk, and volunteered strange confessions of an imaginary crime, hoping, I suppose, in this way to escape the heaviest punishments. Informers were encouraged by the panic produced, and they came in large numbers to the Office of the Inquisition to tender accusations against their frightened neighbours. Stories the most monstrous were trumped up about people of all sorts. Even members of other religious orders came in for a share of suffering under these malignant attacks. Accusers said there was a grand conspiracy afloat to restore Judaism in Cordova and the neighbourhood, and to pull down the Holy Catholic Church. Nuns and other ladies were represented as scouring the country to promote Judaism, by the revival of Israelitish feasts and synagogue worship, and by the preaching of sermons "with great solemnity." The fables invented were taken down by notaries, the houses of rich Cordovan citizens were invaded, and the residents were dragged out of bed, and hurried off to prison. The crusade became intolerable, and the city rose up in arms against the policy of Lucero. The authority of the Inquisition altogether was imperilled. The municipality, the bishop, the cathedral chapter, the principal nobility, the Marquis of Priego and the Count of Cabra at their head, sent a deputation to look into the terrible business, and to put a stop to Lucero's conduct—indeed, to dismiss him from office. But the Inquisitor-General, whose name was Deza, backed his infamous official, and attacked the complainants, denouncing by name a long list of nobles, monks, nuns, canons, and magistrates, as aiders and abettors of the Jewish religionists. The relatives of imprisoned victims now interposed, to implore Philip of Burgundy, and his wife

Juana, who were rulers of Castile, to transfer the cause to another court. Philip was willing to do so, but he died before he could accomplish his purpose. The Marquis of Priego and his associates, however, would not submit any longer to the tyranny of the Inquisitor, and actually attacked the prison in October, 1506, liberated many prisoners, and put several of the officers in their place. Lucero escaped on the back of a swift Spanish mule. Deza resigned his post, and Cordova regained its tranquillity.

Several letters written by Peter Martyr d'Anghiera are preserved in which, with righteous severity, he condemns the inquisitorial proceedings in this affair. "The injuries which the ministers of the Inquisition," he says, "have caused in my country are so great and so multiplied that it is impossible not to be most painfully affected by them." And he also exposed the absurdity of the charges brought against the ladies of Cordova, stigmatising those charges as "worthy of the malice of hell, and the credulity of children."¹

The end of the matter appears in the forming of a "Catholic Congregation," by the authority of the king and the pope, which acquitted the sufferers under this dreadful persecution, "restored the dead to honour and fame, rebuilt the ruined houses, and ordered all records tending to prejudice the living to be cancelled."²

The whole story shows that the Inquisition, bad in principle, was worse in practice; that outrageous abuses of its despotic authority prevailed; that it had to be checked by the civil power, and by the interference of the pope himself. The indignation of the Cordovan people, it must be remembered, was aroused by charges of Jewish complicity against persons who were perfectly innocent. They did not interfere that they might put an end to tyranny over conscience. They had no notion of what we

¹ Llorente, i. 345-352.

² Rule's 'History of the Inquisition,' 132.

mean by civil and religious liberty. Probably, if thorough-going Catholics had been accused of Protestantism, they would have stood up in their defence; but Protestantism itself they hated as much as Judaism, and would not have thought of attempting to rescue a Lutheran from the flames of an *auto de fé*.

Protestantism does not appear to have gained any footing in Cordova. We do not read of any Protestant books being circulated, or of any Protestant meetings being held within its walls. The citizens could scarcely be ignorant of what went on in Seville, but there is no sign of their being horrified at the burnings there.

Nor do I find any record of Protestant martyrs or confessors at Cordova at a later date. Llorente, however, describes an *auto* which occurred there in 1627, when four Jews were burnt alive, and eleven dead ones were dug out of their graves, that their bones might be consumed. Three blasphemers, one polygamist, and three sorcerers were reconciled—the latter including a wretched woman charged with invoking Barabbas and Beelzebub, and another accused of practising necromantic absurdities. The lengths to which “the holy fathers” went in the indulgence of credulity are most amazing.

CHAPTER VII.

GRANADA.

GRANADA, about eight or nine hours' journey from Cordova, is situated at the foot of a hill overlooking the Vega, or verdant plains, which, encompassed by mountains—the snowy Sierra Nevada overtopping the rest—spreads out for thirty miles; and if the Moorish story be true, must have been four hundred years ago a perfect paradise. Travellers in some instances now talk and write about it extravagantly; but as I saw it in spring, though it gave signs of fertility, it was far from being an Eden of beauty. The city is greatly changed within the last ten or twenty years; many of the old architectural relics have been swept away. A few narrow streets,¹ with rows of Moorish houses, and the Casa Carbon—a rude court-yard with Moorish gates and arabesques—are the chief relics of an oriental glory which once fascinated both inhabitants and visitors. What was once the Moorish plaza, a square famous in legend and song, and the scene of bull baits, of *autos de fé*, with its *Casa de los Mirados*—from the windows of which grandees looked out on such ghastly spectacles—is now converted into a market-place of modern appearance. The buildings of the Holy Office, too, have been removed. I could

¹ One of these streets, the Puerta Suela, contains a house—unpretending outside, but with a beautiful patio and garden within, where the Empress Eugénie was born. A tablet is placed on the wall, stating that there Her Majesty entered the world, and that the corporation of Granada placed the stone in its present position to commemorate the event.

find no vestige of the Inquisition prison. A prison near the cathedral I did see—a dirty, wretched-looking place, with grated windows, through which prisoners peered down on the passers-by, and a crowd of them could be seen huddled together in the courtyard. They resemble prisons in Cairo and Damascus. What must the prisons of the Inquisition have been !

As one wanders through the courts of the Alhambra, the Hall of the Lions, the Hall of the Ambassadors, and the Hall of the Abencerages—amidst fountains, flowers, arches and columns rich in delicate tracery, and under the shadow of colonnades, where every stone in the wall and every flag on the pavement is vocal with stories of romance and love, of intrigue and murder—there is a strong temptation to yield to its fascinating associations, and to accept as veritable facts what legendary pens have handed down, or legendary tongues, so plentiful in the Alhambra, still repeat without doubt or hesitation. But Washington Irving, who has done so much to make these visions of the past real as the orange trees, the stars, and the moonlight, tells us with relentless fidelity, that after examining Arabic authorities, and letters written by Boabdil's contemporaries, he was convinced the last of the Moors has been traduced, and that the whole collection of stories is due to a historical fiction, with some grains of truth at the bottom, called 'The Civil Wars of Granada,' written in Spanish, though professedly translated from an Arabic original.¹

When at Granada I could not help remembering how the conquest of it, which began a new era in Spain, occurred about the time that Martin Luther entered the world ; how when Charles V. was rearing within the Alhambra walls a palace for himself, which he never completed, the Reformation was making way in Germany, and had begun to shed a little light on the south side of the Pyrenees ; and how, when the building was fresh with Renaissance gorgeousness, the Inquisition was at work crowding its prisons and

¹ 'The Alhambra,' 51.

kindling its fires, for the extinction of simple apostolic faith revived by Spanish confessors.

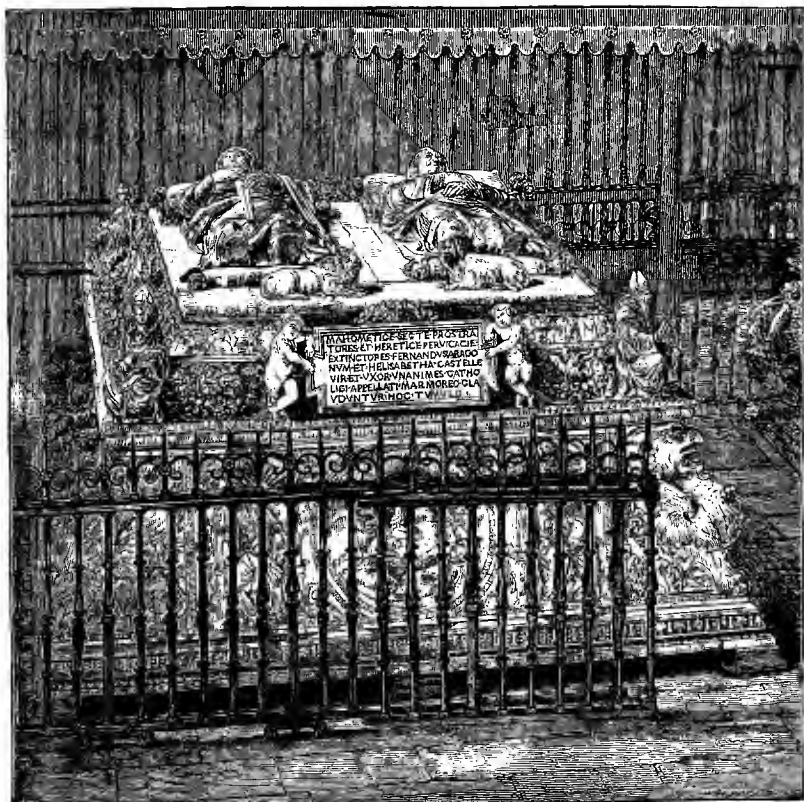
But in the city of Granada there are objects connected with details I have to record in this chapter.

The cathedral was commenced in 1529, when Gothic ecclesiastical architecture went out, and Renaissance ecclesiastical architecture came in. It stands in the midst of the city, and its dome and towers rise conspicuously above other buildings as seen from the walls and windows of the Alhambra. But it is a gaudy, tasteless fabric, in which extravagant decoration covers everything. The columns and piers are enormously lofty, but the construction of the edifice is so overpowered by its intrusive adjuncts that the effect of its magnificent proportions is lost and destroyed. The gilding everywhere makes the massive materials which they overpower look but a ginger-bread affair; in this respect presenting a contrast to the sublime simplicity of a genuine Gothic structure. The choir and altar are in keeping with other parts; the latter crowded with sculpture and ornament, set within an architectural frame, and surmounted by galleries with gilt railings.

The Capella Real is the choicest part of the structure. Outside there are grand specimens of florid Gothic, inside are the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella; also of Philip the Handsome and his wife Juana are noble monuments of marble statuary. The details are worth studying; and it is curious to observe how the faces of both couples are averted from each other. On a tablet at the foot of the Catholic sovereigns, their hatred of heresy is recorded. I was taken down into the vaults, and there, by the light of candles, saw distinctly the four leaden coffins in which these potentates are enclosed. There is a fifth, containing the corpse of Philip and Juana's son, an elder brother of Charles V.

Upon the mysterious story of "Crazy Jane," as she is often called—daughter of the two famous sovereigns, mother of a not less

famous emperor, Charles V.—light has been thrown of late which brings her into contiguity with the subject of this volume. A friar Thomas, writing, in August, 1498, reported that when two confessors on Assumption Day offered their services to the princess,



TOMB OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

she declined them. Many years afterwards, in 1518, she refused to attend mass, and when the priests brought her the paten to kiss, she refused it. In 1522, she interrupted a service, and ordered the altar to be removed. In 1525, some about her recommended that

she should be put on the rack.¹ She died in 1555, and De Soto said of her: "Blessed be the Lord, her Highness told me things that have consoled me. Nevertheless, she is not disposed to the sacrament of the Eucharist." Her granddaughter states, "She committed her soul to God, and gave thanks to Him that at length He delivered her from all her sorrows." Her last words were, "Jesus Christ crucified be with me." All this is startling. A learned German has attempted to prove she was a Lutheran;² but, according to the statements cited, her dislike to Roman ceremonies began long before Luther appeared as a Reformer. A conclusion of that kind appears to me quite inadmissible. In the instructions of the Archduke Philip to a correspondent it is said, "Ferdinand has put into circulation a false report of the madness of his daughter, and other absurdities of the like kind, solely with a view to furnish himself with a pretext for seizing her crown." What are we to make of that passage, in the face of so many evidences of her insanity?

The archbishop's palace is opposite the cathedral, and has been lately restored. About noon I observed a crowd of men in Spanish cloaks and hats standing in front, and on inquiring what this meant, was informed that they came to receive alms given by the prelate. It amounts to about a halfpenny each, and upon alternate days women assemble to partake of the same charity.

At Granada, in connection with the cathedral and palace, we meet with a man whose name is familiar to students of Spanish history, Fernando de Talavera. He was really a sort of Reformer before the Reformation, and though he remained through life in the bosom of the Catholic Church, he had at least two characteristics which bring him within the general class I am endeavouring to describe—namely, those who deviated from the

¹ 'Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to negotiations between England and Spain,' edited by G. A. Bergenroth, 1868.

² 'Hist. Zeitschrift,' xx. 262.

common opinion and policy of the age, and thereby incurred the resentment of the Inquisition.

He was, in early life, a friar of St. Jerome, an order which arose at Toledo in 1370, and rapidly spread through Spain and Portugal. It promoted literary culture, and the brethren were known by their white frocks, their black cowls, and their streaming scapularies. Talavera rose to be prior of a convent near Valladolid, and there he remained twenty years. Thence his fame for sanctity, eloquence and learning spread far and wide, and reached the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. Her Majesty made him one of her confessors, and, to show what lofty views he had of his office, this anecdote is related. When he attended her the first time in his new capacity, he continued to sit as she knelt down. "It is usual for both parties to kneel," said Isabella. "No," replied Talavera; "this is God's tribunal, I act here as His minister, and it is fitting that I should keep my seat while your highness kneels before me." "This is the confessor that I wanted," was her remark afterwards; whence it appears how in that age of reverence for the priestly office the two suited each other. "This anecdote, however," as Prescott remarks, "is more characteristic of the order than the individual,"¹ inasmuch as the confessor was remarkable for his personal humility, and his freedom from ambition, spiritual or worldly. He was very watchful over the social habits of his royal mistress, and his correspondence shows how anxious he was to withdraw her as much as possible from pomps and vanities; and so puritanical were his notions in this respect, that he has incurred censure from the American historian just named. "His letters are little else than homilies on the love of company, dancing, and the like heinous offences. The whole savours more of the sharp twang of Puritanism than of the Roman Catholic school."² He had no sympathy with Christopher Columbus, whom he, like

¹ 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' ii. 58.

² *Ibid.* ii. 118.

many others, regarded as a visionary ; and he ventured to tell both king and queen that his demands savoured in the highest degree of arrogance, and would be unbecoming in their highnesses to grant to a needy foreign adventurer.¹ Isabella did not yield to her confessor's advice, and declared she was ready to pawn her crown jewels to meet the adventurous enterprise.

After having been Bishop of Avila, a city in Old Castile, Talavera, on the fall of Granada in 1481, expressed a wish to exchange his Castilian diocese for the new one, to be established around the Alhambra, where he longed to proclaim the faith to the remaining Moorish inhabitants. But he declined to accept an increase of income, which at Avila amounted to about £14,000 of English money—this he expended chiefly in public improvements and gifts of charity.

He was advanced in life, yet one of the first things he did on behalf of his new diocese was to study Arabic, that so he might better discharge his missionary duties amongst the Arabic members of his flock. What he did himself he expected his clergy to do likewise. He employed Arabic scholars to assist him in his designs, by preparing a dictionary and grammar of the language ; he also had an Arabic Christian catechism compiled, and an Arabic version of the Liturgy and Gospels prepared. These works were published in Granada in 1505, being the firstfruits of an Arabic printing-press.² Moors, it is further said, availed themselves of the instructions provided, and committed to memory the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed. He also projected a translation of the Bible, an undertaking never completed. This was beginning at the right end, and reflects credit upon a Spanish archbishop, who in these spiritual efforts saw what was adapted to do infinitely more for the propagation of Christianity than the employment of force could ever accomplish. It was not likely that modes of operation

¹ 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' i. 474.

² M'Crie, 70.

so opposed to the spirit of the age would secure approval from the priesthood, who deemed the Inquisition the most efficient instrument of conversion, being more ready to their hands, less troublesome to employ, and swifter in reaping results. Force, therefore, was advocated by zealots, who were blind to the true nature of Christ's religion; and it was recommended that Mohammedans should be required to submit to baptism, or suffer expulsion from the fair region they deeply loved. Such a policy was espoused by two active churchmen, who came into collision with the amiable prelate I have described.

The first of these was Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spain, whom we have seen already as founder of the University of Alcalá. He accompanied the victorious sovereigns when they took possession of the vanquished kingdom, and obtained royal authority to remain in the romantic city for the furtherance of his views respecting the Christianization of the old inhabitants.

When he and Talavera met, we may imagine they did so in the archiepiscopal palace; it soon appeared how divergent were their plans. Talavera brought out his books and manuscripts, and contended earnestly for the vernacular versions of Holy Writ. "Did not St. Paul," he asked, "look upon speaking in an unknown tongue as speaking into the air? Did he not say, 'In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue?'" And what was true of speech was true of printing. Ximenes, most inconsistently with his labours on the compilation of a Polyglott, depreciated reasonable methods of diffusing the Gospel, and contended for the efficacy of rites and ceremonies, as making impressive appeals to untutored minds—minds more accessible to what immediately touched the senses than to what only slowly made way into the understanding. Besides, he said, the holding out of worldly advantages to the converted would surely be found attractive, and, when all else failed, there remained

the enforcement of baptism by threats of expatriation. Follow the Church or go into exile, was Ximenes' remedy for Moorish unbelief. Ximenes took up his abode in the Citadel of Granada ; and no sooner had Ferdinand and Isabella left the place, with injunctions that he would pursue a temperate policy, and not provoke the Moors to rebellion, than he invited a number of Mussulman doctors, and by bribes and threats persuaded them to be baptized, so that 4000 in one day had holy water sprinkled over their heads, from a hyssop, as it was called, which the primate wielded in his hand. After this edifying ceremony, the crowd went home, Christians, in the eyes of admiring priests and monks.

To make a clean sweep of Mohammedanism, Ximenes gathered all the Arabic MSS. he could find, some beautifully illuminated, and burnt them in one of the city squares ; but he reserved three hundred volumes upon medical science—assumed to be free from heretical taint—and these he sent to Alcalá. The burning greatly shocked the Moors, and many of the Castilians scarcely less. "All expostulations against his proceedings were met by the reply that a tamer policy might indeed suit temporal matters, but not those in which the interests of the soul were at stake, that the unbeliever, if he could not be drawn, should be driven into the way of salvation, and that it was no time to stay the hand, when the ruins of Mohammedanism were tottering to their foundations."¹

Ximenes roused many to madness. They seized three of his servants, who had made themselves odious, and massacred a couple of them on the spot. In a few hours the city was in a state of rebellion. The cardinal's friends urged him to flee ; but he replied, "God forbid I should think of my own safety, when so many of the faithful are perilling theirs ! No ; I will stand to my post, and await there, if Heaven wills it, the crown of martyrdom."

¹ Prescott, 'Ferdinand and Isabella,' ii. 127. He refers to Gomez, 'De rebus gestis,' and Abarca, 'Reyes de Aragon.'

He was no coward. After the failure of violence to restore peace, Talavera interposed with his usual persuasiveness. Unarmed, attended by his chaplain, crucifix in hand, he went into the midst of the mob, where one after another knelt down and kissed his garments. The riot was at end ; but the leaders had to pay a penalty afterwards.

The other dissentient from Talavera's plan was Pedro Diego Deza, successor to Torquemada as Inquisitor-General. He hated the mild ways of the Archbishop of Granada. "What good," he asked, "could ever be done after that milk-and-water fashion ? The tribunal, the dungeon, the rack, the *auto de fé* were the only effectual cures for heresy of all kinds. Those who disapproved of such methods were themselves to be suspected. Could Talavera be a genuine Catholic ? No. So Diego Deza called on his friend Ximenes, as primate, to take in hand the Archbishop of Granada, and inquire into his opinions and practices, while they were living together in that city. The Inquisitors, however, acted for themselves, arrested some of the prelate's relatives, and kept him for three years in trouble and anxiety. Ximenes was unwilling to countenance the business ; he shrank from acting as a familiar in the case of one who was himself a provincial archbishop, and wrote accordingly to Pope Julius II. The pope ordered his nuncio to inhibit the Inquisitors, and to report respecting the character of Talavera. Whatever was the report, Julius, at a meeting of cardinals, absolved the suspected dignitary ; and yet his name was retained in the Spanish Index published so late as 1789.¹

The Inquisition and the fall of Granada are coupled together by Padre Mariana, the Jesuit. "No sooner was the Holy Office opened in Spain, than there instantly shone forth a resplendent light. Then it was, that, through Divine favour, the nation increased in power, and became competent to overthrow and trample down the domination of the Moors."

¹ Talavera, quoted in the 'History of the Inquisition,' by Dr. Rule, 129.

Those in Granada who were arrested in consequence of their departures from the Catholic faith were chiefly Moors and Jews ; and I do not find any notice of Protestant victims of the Inquisition there earlier than 1593, when a heretic is mentioned who denied the resurrection of the dead, together with two persons distinctly described as Lutherans. They were subjected to lighter punishments after having professed penitence ; but five Jews were burnt that year at the *auto de fé*.

A flash of anti-Protestant indignation shoots forth in Granada at a festival in November, 1685, when an allegorical ship was exhibited floating on a silver sea before the Chapel of the Sacrament at the cathedral—an exhibition got up in consequence of an insult offered to the host by a French heretic, and intended to expiate the offence. From this vessel broadsides were fired upon Luther, Wicliff, Calvin, and Œcolampadius, who were represented as swimming round, and attempting to repeat the outrage. The shots were composed of Scripture texts.¹ Well would it have been if the champions of Catholicism had always confined themselves to such artillery.

In 1680 there was a native of the province of Granada who had been formerly “reconciled by the Inquisition of Llerena as a heretic who denied purgatory, but who having relapsed into this and other errors was again thrown into prison, where he died in a state of impenitence and contumacy.”

Ticknor informs us that he had in his possession the official *Relaciones* of *autos* at Granada in 1720 and 1721, involving ninety-eight cases—all but two were Jews—some burnt alive, others were corpses dug out of their graves, the rest were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and other penalties.²

There are other edifices in Granada besides the cathedral full of decorative display. The Hospital of San Juan,—who devoted his life to the founding of hospitals, was treated whilst he lived as

¹ Ticknor, ii. 364.

² Ticknor, iii. 278.

mad in consequence of his enthusiastic benevolence, and then after his death was encased in marble and canonized—is a striking example. I entered the building which bears his name through a filthy lane, and was then ushered into a chapel, resplendent with gold, paintings, statuary, precious stones, and *pieces of looking-glass*. The Carthusian Convent outside the city is still more remarkable. The cloister walls are covered with pictures of monks who were persecuted and put to death by English Protestants at the period of the Reformation. The representations are exaggerated, but there can be no doubt that the sufferings of these men were really terrible; and their story is only one sad blot in the reign of Henry VIII. by the side of another, the burning of Protestant martyrs. Sad indeed was it that the Spanish Inquisition should thus be kept in countenance by doings in our own country! You pass through these cloisters into a chapel of rare magnificence and beauty. The stucco work is exquisite. There are rich sculptures behind the altar, a good Murillo on the walls, and the gates which open into the choir are inlaid with ebony, tortoise-shell, and ivory. The sacristy has cases of drawers, made of similar materials. All the architecture and artistic displays belong to the fifteenth century; and I could not help thinking that they indicated a sort of frantic effort made to revive the glory of a Church which was then spiritually and morally on the wane.

In Ford's 'Guide-book for Spain' notice is taken of the ancient Illiberis, remains of which are found near Atarfe, within a few miles of Granada. "Here," says the editor, "the celebrated Council was held about the year 303" (it should be in the year A.D. 313) "at which Osius of Cordova presided over nineteen Spanish bishops. The eighty-one Canons breathe a merciless anathema and death, worthy of the land of the future Inquisition. The crimes and penalties give an insight into the manners of the

¹ The Canons are found in Hardouin, 'Collectio Conciliorum,' tom. i. p. 247.

For full particulars of Church discipline at the period, see Bingham's 'Christian

age."¹ The last remark is true, but the former is not. The lapsed, indeed, as backsliding Christians in an age of heathenism and persecution were called, became numerous, and professors of the faith were sometimes immoral also. The discipline, however, sought to be maintained was strict, as the Canons of Illiberis show ; but the utmost penalty prescribed was excommunication. This was a spiritual penalty. It cut off the guilty from the fellowship of the Church. It excluded them from the privileges and comforts of religion, until they were restored by repentance. But it left property, liberty and life untouched. In an age when the Church was unestablished, and could not employ the secular power in its service, it was *impossible* that, in point of practical operation, the Canons of Illiberis could resemble the proceedings of the Inquisition. Spiritual anathemas no doubt there were in the former case, but death, imprisonment, and the forfeiture of property were additions of later date. The Spanish Inquisition surpasses all that went before it in the history of Church penalties.

Leaving Granada, I may remark that Reformed opinions, which spread in Seville and Valladolid, did not penetrate to the same extent elsewhere. Nevertheless, other parts of Spain felt their influence. Many an *auto de fé* numbered amongst its victims people charged with heresy. Murcia, which lies to the north-east of Granada, affords an example.

Murcia is now a town with 91,509 inhabitants, in the south-east corner of Spain ; its neighbourhood is a land of flowers. "The streets are generally narrow, and many of the houses are painted in pink and yellow colours : those of the *Hidalgos* are decorated with armorial bearings."¹ In summer the place must look very

Antiquities,' Book XVI., Chapters ii.-xiv. Carefully distinguish between ecclesiastical proceedings before and after the legal status given to the Church in the time of Constantine. The Theodosian Code (A.D. 429-438) had in it much of the same spirit as that which appears in the proceedings of the Holy Office.

¹ Ford.

pretty, with its awnings drawn over the thoroughfares, and gaily dressed peasants sauntering in the shade, and gazing on the shops of silversmiths and striped mantle sellers. The name Murcia applies to the surrounding province as well as the town; the country round was fertile in the days of the Moors, when, indeed, it formed a petty kingdom. The plain is still dotted with farms and palm trees, and the chief building in what may be called the capital is the Roman Catholic cathedral, with old carvings and monuments. The name of the place figures in the records of the Inquisition, more, I apprehend, with reference to the province than the town; certainly more in connection with Jews, Mohammedans, and immoral members of the Spanish Catholic Church, than in connection with heretics of the Protestant class. Some of the latter, however, are met with, and a few appear at the beginning of that terrible period when persecution, like a sirocco, swept over the Protestantism of Spain. In 1563 I find eleven persons mentioned as suspected of Lutheranism, but they were afterwards reconciled as penitents. A priest popular as a preacher was brought out at the *auto de fé* in his shirt, bare-headed, and a wax taper in his hand, to abjure his heresies, which seem to have consisted in his condemnation of the Holy Office, and his stigmatising the Inquisition as "devils incarnate." A priest named Luis de Angelo was violently suspected of heresy, but he abjured, was for a time suspended from sacerdotal functions, and condemned only to pay a fine. In this respect he resembled the other priest just named. Two friars were also degraded as Lutheran heretics, and treated much in the same way. In 1564 a monk of the order of St. Jerome was in trouble with the Inquisition for having married, and, in 1568, twenty-five persons were burnt as heretics, and thirty-five were condemned to minor penalties upon their abjuring errors with which they were charged. What were the errors for which the former were burnt, I do not know, as Judaism and Mohammedanism are sometimes classed amongst the heresies of which people were accused. *Suspectus de levi* is

an expression which occurs in records of the Inquisition, meaning one charged with a slight taint of heresy. When convicted, the person was required to abjure all doctrines but those of the Catholic Church; then, clothed in a penitent's garb, he was sentenced to do penance for a certain period—it might be for seven years. At all events, we may conclude that there must have been some in the province of Murcia who at the time of these *autos* were imbued with sentiments which were taught by Protestant Reformers.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEVILLE.

WE started from the Alhambra on a spring morning at daybreak, and as the sun began to rise, passed near Santa Fé on my journey to Seville. I had visited Santa Fé a few days before, in a carriage which the driver took care should move along the dusty road at the rate of only three miles an hour—a specimen of travelling available in Spain where the railway does not serve. Santa Fé is a miserable town, but famous as the residence of Ferdinand and Isabella during a part of the war with Granada ; there it was that Columbus had his critical interview with the sovereigns, which, after being broken up by their rejection of his project, was renewed by his recall, as he reached the bridge of Pinos between Santa Fé and Granada. The final conference royally authorised the Great Admiral to start on his unparalleled voyage of discovery. In the same town the capitulation of Granada was signed.

The Vega of Granada, covered with promises of a good barley harvest when I saw it in April, is crossed by the railroad, which runs by Loja, the key to Granada. The town is picturesquely situated on the banks of the Genil, and opens gracefully on the traveller's view as he reaches the station ; indeed, it is the most interesting object I noticed in the earlier part of my journey to Seville. Antequera, once a Roman station, still marked by a Moorish castle, is further on ; then comes the junction at Bobadilla, well known to Spanish travellers, where you get upon a line which

strikes off to Seville by a short cut that saves a long round to the Madrid and Seville Trunk Railway. The country improves as you approach the grand old city on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and the graceful Giralda, towering above the other buildings, arrests the eye some time before the train arrives at its destination.

The Seville which is, differs materially from the Seville which was ; yet in many respects it continues the same. The picturesque costumes which used to enliven the streets and formed subjects for paintings by Philips and others have nearly disappeared. The romantic adventures by diligence and on horseback over the great high-roads which lead to the city, have reached their end, and travelling by railway is very prosaic. Trams meet you in the narrow streets ; and hack carriages stand in a row as in the heart of London. The Fondas are now handsome hotels, where English and American travellers are very common. All this deserves mention, for books of Spanish travel written twenty years ago are very misleading. Of greater importance far are contrasts between the present and the sixteenth century. The Inquisition is abolished, *autos de fé* and burnings at the Quemadero are, thank God, unknown ; and the circulation of the Bible and liberty of Protestant worship are, within certain limits, allowed by law.

On the other hand, great monuments of antiquity, Moorish and Christian, remain. The cathedral and daughter churches still abound in sculpture and painting. The Virgin Mary is worshipped as much as ever. Artistic commemorations in Holy Week have lost little of their splendour and popularity. The bull-fight is still an immense attraction. Fiction and the drama maintain their ascendancy. The serenader, though less frequent, may still be seen loitering under a lady's balcony. I am sorry to say that antipathy to Evangelical religion lingers under the shadow of religious liberty ; and untruthfulness, I am assured by inhabitants of Seville is a common rule, with few exceptions. Could

Reformers return from the dead, they would say, looking at the first class of facts, "How changed!" looking at the second, "How much the same!"

Passing through the narrow streets of Seville, some of my first thoughts rested upon Don Rodrigo de Valer, a man who may be called father of the Protestant Reformation in that picturesque city. His birthplace was at Lebrixa, and, being a member of the aristocracy of Spain, born with an inheritance of great wealth, and brought up amongst those who prided themselves upon their pure blood, he spent his money, and sought fashionable society in the great southern capital of his native land. He had a house there of the kind which still remains—a mansion plain outside, but probably within full of luxury, with a *patio* in the middle, where the orange trees and flowers were refreshed from a fountain, which threw over them its glittering spray. Fond of country sports and city amusements, he hunted the boar and the bear on the tawny barren hills of his ancestral domain; and then, in his Seville residence, exchanged excitement of that kind for such as prevailed amongst fashionable neighbours. He is described as a favourite and leader of them all. But, in the midst of his revelry, he was arrested by a Divine hand, which turned his thoughts and ways into a totally new direction. Convinced of his sin and folly, he sought for pardon and peace; and not finding those blessings in the Church to which he belonged, he turned to books of divinity, to the writings of the Fathers and the schoolmen, of which he knew something; and especially to the Latin Vulgate, where, with all its faults, he found the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith. On that he laid hold, and having made it his own he kept it to the end.

From the moment of this change in feeling there commenced a change of conduct. Don Rodrigo de Valer became another man. The pleasures which had once absorbed his thoughts he now abandoned; and it was his heart's desire to communicate to others

what, through God's mercy, he enjoyed himself. He repeated what he had learned from Holy Writ, and talked about it to priests and monks of his acquaintance. He is represented as soon *preaching* in the streets—which must mean that in the Calle, the Plaza, and the Prado, he would converse with people, boldly and plainly, about the things which belonged to their peace. Such conduct could not but create surprise; and surprise amongst Spanish Catholics burst into flames of indignation. That a man with pure blood in his veins, brought up, not among Moors, Jews, and heretics, could so disgrace himself was intolerable. Lutheranism in Germany was being talked about—heresy had begun to alarm the Sevillians, and sympathy in such things alarmed Don Rodrigo's friends, and gratified the malice of his enemies. He could not fail to be informed against. Officers of the Inquisition were on the watch. He walked for some time on the edge of a precipice, but his steps did not falter. He met with a few like-minded in his own rank of life, and read and expounded to them the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans—a favourite part of God's Word with all Protestants. Wary advisers, hearing of this, bid him be cautious; but he regarded himself as the leader of a forlorn hope, and bravely pressed on. The Holy Office could forbear no longer. The familiars laid hold of the courageous young evangelist. He stood before the secret tribunal. He was examined, convicted, and sentenced. No doubt he had intercessors in his behalf, and this saved him from a death by fire. Rodrigo was condemned to imprisonment. He had to bear the *sanbenito*,¹ which I will hereafter describe, and to sit listening to a priest who undertook to convince him of his theological errors. Rodrigo, like one of the apostles, could not but declare the things he had seen and heard, and in the public place, where he received admonition, he rose and warned the people against errors which had just been propounded by his tonsured antagonist. Strange that his judges

¹ Sometimes written *sambenito*.



PUERTA DEL PERDON, SEVILLE CATHEDRAL.

did not order him to be burnt forthwith. Imprisonment for life he had to endure ; and after dreary days in a cell of the Inquisition he entered on the celestial liberty of the sons of God.

After death, his *sanbenito*, or frock of infamy, was hung up in Seville Cathedral, with this inscription in large letters, "Rodrigo Valer, apostate and false teacher, who declared that God had sent him."

The external aspects of Seville Cathedral are not picturesque, except those which appear from the Orange Court, where the Giralda towers into the blue sky in beautifulness ; and from the steps of the Lonja, or Exchange, where the eye runs across Gothic windows of the fourteenth century and a doorway is seen full of sculpture, and a row of pinnacles of a curious shape, like lamp-stands bearing tongues of fire. The interior of the edifice is wonderful. The pier-like columns of the aisles, transepts, and nave, are of prodigious height, the effect of which is a little diminished by the heavy *coro* in the middle, quite shutting out of sight the high altar as you enter the church. Attention is arrested at once by a large slab covering the grave of the son of Columbus, whose exploit is commemorated by a lined sculpture of the caravels in which the explorers sailed forth, and by the simple words—

A Castilla y á Leon,
Nuevo Mundo di Colónó.¹

The discovery of America preceded the Reformation in Spain a little more than half a century, and was the cause of results, in the Church and the world, of which the persecutors and the persecuted could not dream. I contrasted the reign of ecclesiastical freedom in the North of the New World with the long age of spiritual despotism in the South of the old one ; and on entering the Sala Capítular I was struck, not only with Murillo's paintings but with one of the marble medallions representing Christ in the

¹ Columbus is so called by the Spaniards.

vessel amidst a storm asleep, yet ready to wake and save, with words underneath, expressing the truth "there is no fear for this life when the gracious Saviour is near the helm." I could not help applying it to the Evangelical Church amidst tempests of persecution ; for the cause which I am describing in these pages has not perished, and never can.

The magnificence of the grand cathedral roof culminates over the centre, where the transepts meet between the *coro* and the high altar. That point of junction is closely connected with my story, for there, with the subdued and tinted light through the stained windows, three memorable preachers of the Reformation occupied the cathedral pulpit. I will describe the three. Their names were Egidius (or, as he is sometimes called, Dr. Gil), Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, and Gregorio Ruiz.

Egidius had received his education at the University of Alcalá, and had distinguished himself by attainments, especially in the original languages of Scripture ; hence he was denominated a Biblicist, a reproachful term in those days. He, however, attained a theological chair at Sigüenza, and became known as a scholastic deep in the writings of Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. His scholarship procured him a canonry in Seville Cathedral ; but, as it often happens, learning did not make him an orator ; thus being discouraged by the scantiness of his audiences, he contemplated a resignation of office ; but he had a friend who penetrated below the surface, and discovered in him a power slumbering for want of an impulse sufficient for awakening it. This friend was Rodrigo de Valer. He pointed out the preacher's defects, especially his need of unction ; and, following the example of Aquila and Priscilla, expounded to his half-instructed pupil the way of God more perfectly. The matter as well as the manner of Egidius became changed. He threw force and fire into his pulpit ministrations ; the contrast between the now burning appeals and the old icy disquisitions excited city talk, and the spacious transepts,

once empty, were filled to suffocation. Amongst other gifts was "the singular faculty which he had of kindling in the breasts of those who listened to his instructions a sacred flame which animated them in all the exercises of piety, internal and external, and made them not only willing to take up the cross, but cheerful in the prospect of the sufferings of which they stood in jeopardy every hour; a clear proof that the Master whom he served was present with him by His Spirit engraving the doctrine which he taught on the hearts of his hearers."¹ This of course applies only to those who heard with sympathy. Many listened with disbelief and scorn, and enemies as well as friends sprung up around the Reformer's pulpit. The fame of Egidius reached Charles V., and the emperor, who seems to have had a taste for oratory, nominated him to the see of Tortosa, one of the richest in Spain. This made those who disliked the preacher's doctrines very angry, and they denounced him to the Inquisition, as the best way of barring all episcopal gates against such a person. They said he held justification by faith, that he placed no reliance on human merit, and that he contradicted the doctrine of purgatory and the practice of confession. They accused him further of discountenancing the veneration of images, and of favouring Protestantism in other ways. Whatever Egidius might say as to other charges, he admitted the accusation of his being a believer in justification by faith. This was quite sufficient; but when Charles V. heard of what went on he threw his shield over the preacher—for he greatly admired his preaching—and then the opponents of Egidius for a time changed their course, agreeing to what seems a strange arrangement. Dominigo de Soto, a Dominican professor at Salamanca, was sent for. The Dominicans, unlike the Franciscans, were Augustinian in sentiment, and were not so averse as the rival order to what are called doctrines of grace. Dominigo professed to coincide with Egidius as to justification, and in a private conference, after

¹ Montanus, '*Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes.*'

explaining each other's views, the two agreed that before a congregation in the cathedral, each should produce a statement of belief in the disputed points. They occupied pulpits some distance apart, and Egidius, without distinctly hearing what Dominigo read, assented to his statement by a polite bow; supposing that what was advanced agreed with what had been previously arranged. Instead of that, it was something quite different; when Egidius innocently read his own confession, with the idea that it resembled Dominigo's, he discovered to his amazement that all present regarded him and his friend as opposed to each other on the cardinal point under discussion. The Inquisitors found Egidius guilty of holding Lutheran opinions, and condemned him to be imprisoned for a certain time, to be silent for a still further period, and not to leave the country on pain of death; this sentence was given on condition of recanting his errors. Losing courage and self-possession, the poor fellow acquiesced in the cruel sentence of his judges.¹

Though it be diverging from the right line of our story, I may here notice what occurred in connection with the trial. The bishopric to which Charles thought of transferring his favourite remained vacant, and the charge of heresy against him made his appointment impossible. Therefore those who were hungering for clerical promotion were on the *qui vive*, each one hoping to catch the lucrative benefice. One of the aspirants said, that he saw the charge at Tortosa was "too weighty a burden for his shoulders," but he thought he could discharge episcopal functions in the vacant see better than in the one he occupied, and he felt "a strong desire to end his days in tending a few infirm sheep in the peace of God." Another prelate, stationed in Sardinia, sought the vacant episcopate, saying it was not avarice which induced him to do so, but he

¹ Llorento, ii. 142; M'Crie, 158. Neither accounts are very clear. I have selected the salient points. De Castro says that the formal recantation is preserved in Seville Cathedral.

wanted to get on terra firma, and to be delivered from the restless waves which were then beating round his house.¹

Whoever got the bishopric, Egidius lost it, and when his imprisonment expired, in 1555, he visited Valladolid, where the Reformation had taken root, and where, notwithstanding his recantation, he joined the Protestants. Yet he returned to Seville, and was condemned to imprisonment by the Holy Office. He died of fever in 1556. The canons of the cathedral had determined to pay him six hundred ducats a year whilst he was in prison, and after his death had an honourable epitaph inscribed on his tomb. But this, by order of the Inquisition, was effaced, and the remains of the confessor were dug out of the grave and reduced to ashes.

Commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Epistle to the Colossians, with a treatise on bearing the cross, were composed by him—the last in prison.

Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente is another of the Seville cathedral preachers who comes under our notice.² He was a native of San Clemente de la Mancha, in the diocese Cuenca. It is an interesting fact that many Churchmen in Spain at that time devoted themselves to the study of the original Scriptures, and Constantino was one of the number. Nor did he neglect the study of his own language, for he wrote and spoke in it with pre-eminent purity and elegance. He admired Erasmus, had a good deal of his wit, and like him loved to ridicule the monks. "He is a great philosopher, a profound theologian, and the most eloquent preacher in Spain," said Calvete de Estrella.³ His learning, ability, and eloquence won for him a high reputation, and his services were

¹ 'Lettres et Mémoires de Vargas,' quoted by M'Crie, 161, *et seq.*

² The most complete accounts of Ponce de la Fuente will be found in the biographical notice by B. B. Wiffen, prefixed to Mr. Betts's translation of 'The Confession of a Sinner.' Dr. Boehmer, in the second volume of his 'Wiffeniana,' minutely describes the editions of his Works.

³ Quoted by Droin, 'Hist. de la Ref. en Espagne,' i. 201.

eagerly sought by the chapter of the cathedral of Cuenca, where he might have had a preachership. The metropolitan church of Toledo offered a similar office, renowned for its lucrativeness. He declined both, but at length accepted an invitation to Seville. Charles V. heard him preach there, and, delighted with his oratory, appointed him royal chaplain and almoner. Constantino also accompanied Prince Philip to the Netherlands, and became acquainted with some of the German Reformers. James Schopper, of Biberach in Suabia, is mentioned as one who met with him, and his conversation was useful in opening up Protestant truths.

Further, he was acquainted with one of whom much has been said in a former chapter, Franzisco de Enzinas. Their acquaintance-ship is shown in a correspondence between Gaspar Nidbruck and Enzinas, the former asking the latter to write to Constantino on his behalf. "You need not mention," he says, "the topic of religion, and without your engaging me too much by your promises, you may affirm this, that what he shall communicate to me will be entrusted to a confidential person—one attached to men of faith and piety. Were you disposed to confer with him upon your own affairs, that would be best done by your informing him of them when I shall be at Augsburg, for I shall easily ascertain how he is affected towards pure Evangelical doctrine, and how he is affected towards you, as also what others think of you." What exactly was the object of this communication does not appear, but it indicates how cautious persons of a certain class were of committing themselves on the subject of religion, and how well known it was to the writer that Constantino and Enzinas were acquainted with one another. Nidbruck wrote again to Enzinas, in October 1550, saying: "The venerable man, Dr. Constantino, has received me with great friendliness, and, what with his wisdom and learning, I doubt not that he will be able, assisted by your counsel, to promote what I have proposed, which he promised that he will do, and I do not mistrust his good will." In his letter to Enzinas, Nidbruck adds, 'Dr.

Constantino most earnestly desires thee to return to thy family, or at least to settle in the Netherlands at Antwerp.”¹

Strange to say, Constantino accompanied Philip II. to England, and remained in his Majesty's court for three years, returning to Seville about the end of 1555. He then accepted an engagement to preach in Seville Cathedral every alternate day in Lent. Years before this, Constantino's popularity had been immense. Everybody has read the story of Savonarola's preaching at Florence—how the people got up in the middle of the night to find places in the Duomo, and how they stood with naked feet on the cold marble, waiting for three or four hours till the padre ascended the pulpit; when the sermon ended it seemed to them as if it had scarcely begun. As it was in the Duomo of Santa Maria so it was in Seville Cathedral, only the florid architecture, the bewildering intricacies of minute ornament, so profuse in the latter edifice, must have strongly contrasted with the severe simplicity of the Florentine church. Service did not begin till eight o'clock in Lent, but by four, crowds of Spaniards—men with their broad hats and ample cloaks, women with their mantillas and fans—poured through the narrow streets and pressed within the lofty walls. On these and other occasions Constantino Ponce avoided controversy, did not attack the dogmas of the Catholic Church, but insisted positively upon spiritual truths.

The preacher after his return became candidate for a higher dignity than he had held before. It was customary for such an aspirant to pass through a competitive trial. Election depended on success in a sort of literary joust, at a time when rivalries amongst troubadours resembled tilts of chivalry. Constantino shrunk from the encounter. It seemed to him childish and unbecoming. However, he yielded to necessity, and the trial

¹ The autograph letters are in the Protestant Seminary at Strasburg, and have been printed by Mr. B. B. Wiffen in his biographical sketch prefaced to Mr. Betts's edition of 'The Confession of a Sinner' by Constantino.

was published far and wide. Any who aspired to the vacant post were to meet him in the arena. A canon of Malaga at last entered the lists. But, instead of aiming at a display of erudition, he descended into personalities, which failed to produce the desired effect. Constantino came off triumphant.

But a storm was brewing.¹ The strain of his preaching, more marked than ever, excited suspicion, though it did not supply sufficient evidence of heresy. Doubts respecting him had arisen in earlier years. After his return to Spain the familiars would not let him rest, and accusations against him were supplied by enemies. He was apprehended and confined. It may sometimes be thought that Reformers might have escaped opposition by being less antagonistic; but the case before us shows how, in times of excitement like that which was then passing over Spain, nobody who did not join with the bigots could avert impending danger. Conclusive evidence against Constantino for a time could not be found. An accident disclosed it at last. An officer of the Inquisition was searching the house of a lady, Doña Isabella Martina, for another purpose, when he discovered a number of books and manuscripts which Constantino had intrusted to her care. One of them, in his own handwriting, contained an assertion of Protestant principles, a condemnation of the papal system, also a plain statement of justification by faith, together with attacks on indulgences and purgatory. This was enough. On being confronted with these proofs, he honestly exclaimed: "It is unnecessary to produce further evidence. There you have a candid confession of my belief. I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth good to you." They did so.

Thrown into a dismal cell, he exclaimed: "My God, were there no Scythians or cannibals, or pagans still more savage, that Thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptised fiends?"

¹ "A Seville seulement, huit cents personnes furent arrêtées en un jour."—Hilaire 'Histoire d'Espagne,' viii. 92.

Illness followed, and in two years after his arrest he was gone beyond the reach of his persecutors.

Serious reflections were cast on Constantino's moral character ; and 'The Confession of a Sinner,' which he wrote after the manner of Augustine, expresses terrible compunctions of conscience. They include probably recollections of vicious irregularities in early life ; but, it appears to me, they still more disclose the secrets of his heart, and lay bare that spiritual sense of sin which only enlightened believers in the Divine word can discover and adequately feel. The Confession is a most extraordinary treatise on the law of God and the sinfulness of sin. Constantino reminds us of John Bunyan and of Augustine. It is plain he was a man of vivid imagination, and through the exercise of that faculty impressively expressed the realities of Christian experience. The sunshine of hope which breaks out at the end of the little book, and rolls away the clouds which darken the earlier part, is exceedingly beautiful.

"Give me, O Lord, eyes that I may see myself, and strength that I may hold up under self-scrutiny. For my sins are so numerous and so aggravated that I myself am ashamed to recognise them as mine, and am tempted to relieve myself by another sin—that of disowning and denying myself, as though I could discover another self less guilty. But with all this, Lord, I see Thy mercy is such, that whilst I close my eyes when confronted by my sins, Thou keepest Thine open and fixed upon them all ; for it is clear, O Redeemer of the world ! that Thou lookest upon wounds in order to heal them, since, however hideous they may be, they do not disgust Thee, and Thou condescendest to infuse from Thy hands cleansing into them. Guide me, O my Lord, and draw me to Thyself, for alone I shall not attain to know myself ; Thy presence shall give me strength to bear up under self-scrutiny. Hold me, that I flee not from myself. Sustain me, that I yield not to despair. Impose silence upon Satan, until Thou answer for me.

"Since it is Thy will, O Lord, that I be not lost, though my ruin be self-wrought, I come to Thee ; and come, like the prodigal son, to seek the hospitality of Thy house, having learned by bitter experience in losses and injuries, that all those who moved me to leave Thy service are my enemies. How much soever consciousness of guilt accuses me, whatever evil I may know of myself, however much in fear I may stand of Thy judgment, I cannot cease to cherish hope that Thou purposest to pardon me ; that Thou purposest to manifest Thyself graciously unto me, so that I may never again depart from Thee. Hast Thou, O Lord, not said and sworn that Thou wilt not the death of a sinner, and that Thou hast no pleasure in man's ruin ? Dost Thou not say that Thou hast not come to call the righteous, but sinners ? Not the whole, but the sick ? Hast Thou not borne the chastisement of the sins of others ? Hast Thou not given satisfaction for that which Thou hast not done ? Is not Thy blood a sacrifice for the pardon of all the sins of the human race ? Is it not true that the treasures of Thy grace avail more for my welfare, than all Adam's sin and misery for my ruin ? Hast Thou not wept on my account, asking pardon for me ; and Thy Father, has He not heard Thee ? Who then can remove from my heart its confidence in such promises ?"

'The Sum of Christian Doctrine' is another work which proceeded from Constantino's pen, "whereby," says the translator of it into English, "he procured some displeasure and suspicion of heresy among the common sort of learned men, forasmuch as, treating of faith, he did not plainly inveigh against the Lutherans, nor attributed any pre-eminence to the Bishop of Rome, but had written rather in derogation of pardons, of purgatory, of man's merits, and such other like trifles, than in advancement thereof." Four Spanish editions were published. Besides the Summary he wrote a larger work on Christian doctrine. His sermons on the first six verses of the first Psalm are also said to

have been published in Spanish ; and his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, as well as a Catechism, are still in existence.¹

Gregorio Ruiz was a third cathedral preacher who adopted an Evangelical style of address, and therefore became suspected of having adopted Lutheran heresies ; but he was fortunate enough to escape the harpies of the Inquisition ; and how this happened I will relate, after visiting another locality, where we meet with a singular person who was instrumental in Ruiz's deliverance.

But before doing so we must take a turn to look at one of the parish churches of Seville.

In the Calle Vicente—newly whitewashed from end to end, according to Sevillian custom—there stands a building dedicated to the saint after whom the street is named. The first foundation goes back to the fourth century ; in the sacristy is a chapel, where San Isidoro died in 636 ; and there is a blocked-up Gothic archway at the west end which seems to belong to the fourteenth century ; there are external Renaissance additions which belong to the sixteenth, and the great tasteless altar-piece is covered with gaudy gilding. Several pictures hang on the walls, and the edifice covers, it is said, a large number of sepulchres where city magnates are buried. I noticed a restored inscription at the foot of a column near one of the doors, bearing date 1560, which was just after the outbreak of the great persecution.

In that church one Francisco Zafra preached, who, though vicar of the parish, favoured Lutheran principles. He did not escape strong suspicion, but still he held some office connected with the Inquisition ; in that capacity he saved some of his

¹ The style of Constantino was much praised by Spanish critics in his own day, and the praise is repeated in our own. See 'Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,' vol. ii. 3, 4. Mendendez Pelayo, in his recent 'Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles,' a learned work written from a Spanish Catholic point of view, speaks of Constantino's 'Christian Doctrine' as "a complete model of the didactic style ;" and, stranger still, says that, "with the exception of some passages which the Inquisition did not notice, the work, apart from the author's name, might pass as *texto de lengua*" (vol. ii. 427).

friends from the fangs of familiars. The following curious circumstance, however, brought him into trouble. A widow, named Maria Gomez, a zealous Protestant, acquainted with others of the same persuasion, lodged in his house. In the year 1555 this poor woman became deranged, and talked wildly about heretics, naming several of her acquaintances as deserving of punishment. She was put under restraint, but managed to escape, and at once told the Inquisitors that the city was full of heresy, and that it was their duty to cleanse it of the spiritual plague. She gave a list of three hundred names, which filled their reverences with alarm. They sent for Zafra, their counsellor in cases of difficulty, who, moved by sympathy for those who were accused, and helped by his natural shrewdness and cunning, treated the report with feigned unconcern, and affirmed the woman had lost her senses. Thus he lulled to rest the suspicions awakened in the Holy Office. The officers recommended the good priest to take charge of the lunatic, which he was glad enough to do. Many were thus saved from immediate peril.

A few miles from the bridge, on the Triana side of the Guadalquivir, stands the monastery of San Isidoro,¹ only a few steps from an old Roman amphitheatre, which carries back our thoughts to the imperial dominion at Seville, when Trajan was born there, and has given, it is supposed, a name to the suburb—Triana or Trajana. The monastery is a memorial of the famous Guzman family, and contains monuments of its members, of whom some romantic stories are told. The chapel remains in tolerable repair,

¹ The miracles recorded of San Isidoro are numerous, and startling even beyond the average of legendary wonders. "Above 300 years ago," says Morales, a Spanish historian, iii. 129 (quoted by Dunham, i. 218), "there was a canon named Martin, whose stupidity was truly great, but who yet was highly venerated for holiness. Being much concerned that he could not learn to read, San Isidoro appeared to him one night in a vision, and ordered him to eat a book which the saint gave him. He did so, and was immediately filled with knowledge, so that afterwards he wrote several books in Latin in very tolerable style. These books are in possession of the canons, and I have looked into them myself."

and is used as the parish church ; the chapter-house, sacristy and cloisters are well worth a visit. Ancient paintings adorn the walls, and embroidered vestments are exhibited to visitors. That monastery was a cradle for the Seville Reformation. Within the precincts were those who had strong sympathies with the German theological movement, and cowled members of the brotherhood walked over to the great city near, to confer with persons of the class I have described.¹

One of them was nicknamed Dr. Blanco, from his white locks—his proper name being Garcia de Arias. He was afraid to avow his real sentiments. When Ruiz, whom I have described, found himself in perplexity, he repaired to Blanco for advice. The monk recommended a line of defence, which his friend adopted when called before the Inquisitors ; immediately afterwards, to his utter amazement, he heard his adviser proceed to refute the very train of reasoning which he had himself suggested. Rebuked for such conduct, the double-faced brother replied : “ By the course pursued he was benefiting the cause, for he diverted suspicion.” In the character of this person I cannot help recognising that *finesse*, that fondness for cunning intrigue popular with Spaniards of that day, as we find it exemplified in their works of fiction. Novels and plays abound in scenes and dialogues full of ingenious devices to deceive ; and people were fascinated, as they are still in Spain, with displays of cleverness after such a fashion. Moreover, as M'Crie says, Garcia de Arias “ belonged to that class of subtle politicians who, without being destitute of conscience, are wary in committing themselves, forfeit the good opinion of both parties by failing to yield a consistent support to either, and, trusting to their address

¹ St. Hilaire, in his ‘ Histoire d’Espagne,’ viii. 79, uses strong language respecting the influence of the Reformation : “ Pour une moitié de Séville, la lecture de la Bible remplaça celle des livres de messe et de prières. La dévotion du cœur se substitua à celle des livres. Comme Savonarola à Florence, les réformateurs de Séville s’efforçaient de changer les cœurs avant les institutions.”—*Ibid.* 83.

and dexterity to extricate themselves from difficulties, are sometimes caught in the toils of their own intricate management.”¹

Another illustration of his character is recorded. He talked to the monks, and told them that religion did not consist in chanting matins and vespers, or in any bodily service, but in spiritual life, the inspiration of which must come from God's holy Word. Yet he still walked in crooked ways, for when Lent came round he recommended severe austerities. “Strip your cells of comfortable furniture,” he cried; “lie on the bare floor, sleep standing, wear hair-cloth shirts and iron girdles.” He intended to produce a reaction, and succeeded in his tortuous method, for the brotherhood could not endure the miseries he advised, and by a revulsion of feeling they cast off all church penances entirely. Such homœopathic treatment at least was original, but whether it was right is another question. At all events the white-haired counsellor prepared for the doctrine of salvation by grace, not by mortification. A better mode of reform followed. The Scriptures and Protestant books were brought into the convent, and the monks began to read them. The prior lent a hand in correcting the abuses, and he and the rest went further. Prayers for the dead ceased, papal indulgences were unsought, images, though not destroyed, were no longer worshipped, and San Isidoro was swept clean of manifold corruptions. Outside the influence spread. Members of the house visited other monasteries; the prior and brethren of one built on the banks of the river Genil began to reform; and Juan de Regla, prior of Santa Fé, went so far that he was required to do penance for Lutheranism.

In passing, I must notice a citizen of Seville, belonging to the laity, named Cristobal Losada, a medical man in good practice, who fell in love with a Protestant young lady, and was at first rejected because his sentiments did not accord with hers. The unsuccessful suitor altered his views, but his subsequent conduct proved him to

¹ ‘History of Reformation in Spain,’ 219.

be a sincere convert. The incident introduces us to "noble women not a few." As one sees a lady in Seville with rose-decked hair, "black as the raven's wing," behind a sun-blind, and leaning over a balcony, she may be recognised as a graceful type of many a dame and maiden in the days of the Reformation. Amongst them might be found some who imbibed Evangelical truth, and sought to diffuse it amongst friends and neighbours. The two Doñas Gonzales were of the number; they were of Moorish descent. Their brother *Juán* was a celebrated preacher in Andalusia, of the Reformed class. One of the sisters was named *Theresa*, described as contemplative; and perhaps we may imagine, except in Protestant belief, that she resembled the sainted *Theresa* of the Catholic Church. *Doña Maria de Bohorques*, natural daughter of *Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques*, a Spanish grandee, was a lady of superior gifts and attainments, a pupil of *Egidius*, under whom she became a Latin and Greek scholar. She cast in her lot with the Protestants. *Doña Juana de Bohorques* was a half-sister, the legitimate daughter of *Don Pedro*, and wife of *Don Francisco de Vargas*. The opinions of *Maria* involved *Juana* in suspicion, and it soon appeared that the faith of the one was the same as the faith of the other.

These ladies were of high rank; so also were some gentlemen penetrated with similar convictions. *Don Juan Ponce de Leon*, son of *Don Rodrigo*, Count de Baylen, a man of great benevolence and such profuse almsgiving that he reduced himself to straits, *Don Domingo de Guzman*,¹ son of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, are particularly mentioned as adherents of Protestantism; others in high life would be influenced by their example. It is a marked feature in the Spanish Reformation that it made way in the upper, not in the lower ranks; and this may be accounted for partly, by remembering that sermons by Reformers addressed to

¹ The family of Guzman was one of the most illustrious in Castile. A poet, an Inquisitor General, and an ambassador to England were of that name.

the public at large, did not point out to the common people the foundation of errors which made the Reformation a necessity ; and by remembering that full expositions of the Reformed faith found in original Latin or German works were not accessible to any but well-educated people.

We know little or nothing of these noble Spaniards beyond their names, their lineage, and their heroism. Fain would we recover from oblivion, were it possible, some facts in their private life, some traits of individual character. They had their loves, their hopes, their fears, their pleasures, their troubles and their adventures, like every-day mortals. Perhaps romantic incidents occurred to them, strange fortunes befell them ; bright prospects opened, and then clouds came and disturbed their paths ; thus hearts were knit together with those of others by that "touch of pity which makes the whole world kin." The story of one and all, however, has long since melted into that vast indistinguishable ocean of forgetfulness, where the years of the Reformation mingle with days before the Flood. What we are sure of is, that the faint glimpses we obtain of their faith and their sufferings have for a background experiences common to humanity in general, and to the Spanish portion of it in particular. They were people of like passions with their descendants, only their deaths made them immortal.

It should not be forgotten that the social position of the Seville confessors aggravated the sufferings which they had to endure. In addition to the obloquy attached to Protestantism they had to bear imprisonment at a time when imprisonment of every kind was attended by horrors such as it is hard for English people in these days to realise. After walking in the Alcazar at Seville, to think of hidalgos and ladies—who had figured in courts which vie with the Alhambra in Moorish-like magnificence, and who had been familiar with paradisaical gardens where forests of roses bloom under the palm-trees, and refreshing fountains sparkle in the sun being

afterwards locked up within stony cells where the barest comforts were denied, makes one's blood run chill.

Here it may be remarked, too, that the upper classes in Spain are really in some respects inferior to the lower. "The masses, the least spoilt and the most rational, stand like pillars amid ruins, and on them the edifice of Spain's greatness must be reconstructed."¹ The civil and religious monopolies of the aristocracy, their intermarriages and proud exclusiveness, their connection with the Inquisition, both as patrons and victims, must be taken into account if we would judge equitably of the noble exceptions to their order who come before us in these pages. Their religious virtues were enhanced by their social disadvantages. They had little to help them in the spiritual warfare; the more wonderful, therefore, appears the grace of God in them. The aristocratic soil, with its stony ground and its numerous thorns, was that part of the field in which the "good seed of the kingdom" chiefly fell, and it was not genial; and I cannot help thinking that if it had been scattered with wise hands amidst the poor and lowly, the history of the Spanish Reformation might have been very different from what it is.

What occurred in Seville is a typical instance of predominant aristocratic influence in the Spanish Protestant movement generally, and of the remarkable absence, to any considerable extent, of the popular element. In this respect there was a contrast between Spain on the one hand, and Germany, France and England on the other: the Evangelical force which penetrated all classes more or less in other countries, slightly touched ranks of society, to the south of the Pyrenees, below the level of the *hidalgo* class. The Inquisition, in its cruel work, had mainly to do with persons conspicuous in rank and fortune, whom it was comparatively easy to detect, since what they did commanded observation, in spite of all attempts at concealment. The Holy Office had not to grapple

¹ Ford.

with the masses, which, if permeated by Protestant truth, as in Northern Europe, would have proved too formidable for Church rulers to crush and destroy.

Persons imbued with Protestant principles naturally consorted together with as much privacy as possible ; and they held religious meetings for instruction and worship, of which Losada, the physician, became a leader.

So great was the knowledge of the Scriptures he manifested, so remarkable were his gifts, and so undoubted his piety, that he really became the guide and instructor of the southern Evangelicals. Dr. M'Crie speaks of them as forming a church "regularly organised ;" but this expression needs to be qualified. "A regularly organised church," is likely to suggest a Protestant community such as we are familiar with. What exactly the order and discipline at Seville might be, I have no means of knowing. But to suppose a church instituted of an Episcopal or Presbyterian type, would be to draw unreasonably upon the imagination, for circumstances did not permit proceedings indicated by either of these names. If we think of a Congregational church, with its pastor, its deacons, and its regularly admitted members, such a society also appears too complete to have existed among Spanish converts from popery in those days. If, however, the word church be used simply to designate believers assembling for prayer and spiritual improvement, it may without impropriety be used relative to this interesting group. I should be glad to ascertain the order of their fellowship, and whether they adopted definite rules, but that lies beyond our reach, in realms of oblivion and silence, where so much is lost that we would fain recover. But we know in whose house the gatherings took place. Doña Isabella de Baena was a lady of high rank, in whom the spirit of Christ brightly shone, and under her roof assemblies like the primitive ones were held ; these people sang the praises of God and Christ, nor was anything profane, or any sounds of dissipation heard within the walls. Her

house was in 1560 razed by order of the Inquisition to the ground, and sown with salt: a marble column was raised to perpetuate the infamy of the place.

Besides meetings for religious instruction, it would appear that means for the circulation of Protestant books existed at Seville. No less an authority than the editor of the Spanish *Documentos Inéditos* informs us that in this city and in Medina del Campo there was a regular dépôt established for the sale of forbidden books at reduced prices.¹ Volumes printed in Germany, and sent to Flanders, were forwarded to Spain, in spite of all the vigilance exercised to prevent this contraband trade. Some came by way of France to Navarre and Aragon. By secret contrivances such forbidden wares were circulated amongst those citizens of Seville who were touched with Protestant sympathies.

One morning, very early, I crossed the bridge at Seville. The water of the Guadalquivir was of a dark red colour, and the thoroughfare was crowded with people; many of them young women on their way to the tobacco manufactory, where 5000 females are employed. The stunted columns of the corridors in the main street, the oriental-looking bazaars, the gaily-dressed gipsies, men in rough Spanish costume—one on a donkey, like Sancho Panza—gave me an idea of old Seville such as I had not gathered in the courtly quarters on the other side the river. In the Triana was a Moorish castle, swept away almost entirely by a flood in 1626. Here the Inquisition had its prison in the sixteenth century; this was removed to a palace in the Calle San Marcos, then finally it occupied the Alameda Vieja. "Here," says Mr. Wiffen in 1842, "while gazing on the edifice with feelings of awe, I recalled to remembrance those martyrs for the truth, and at the same time I listened with painful interest to the narration made to me by a Spanish gentleman of an attack on those very premises at a recent period by an infuriated

¹ 'Documentos Inéditos,' tom. v. 399.

populace, who suffered but few of the friars, confined there for political offences, to escape with life. The building having taken fire, some perished in the flames, whilst others fell by the hands of assassins.”¹

Before proceeding further I must say a few words respecting the institution with which the Triana was connected. The immediate rise of the Inquisition in a new form is attributed to the circumstance of certain Jews at Seville offering an insult to the religion of Jesus Christ. The race of Israel, as well as the descendants of the Moors, were the earliest objects of suspicion ; and, as the European Reformation advanced, Lutheran and other heresies were added to the crimes of which the Inquisition took cognisance. A Supreme Inquisitor, nominated by the sovereign and approved by the pope, presided over the elaborate proceedings. A Supreme Council guided the whole administration of affairs ; and subordinate tribunals in different parts were subject to the control of visitors sent from head-quarters. Prisons were prepared with secret cells ; rooms were set apart for the examination of unhappy persons who had been immured within the walls ; chambers were at hand, where the most ingenious inventions of cruelty were employed to extort confessions from suspected heretics ; and, at the same time, all kinds of blandishments were adopted to fascinate such victims as were proof against the terrors of physical pain. A peculiarity attached to this infamous court, unknown in civil tribunals ; for instead of a plain, straightforward accusation being brought against the prisoner, he was cunningly questioned in all sorts of ways, so as to entrap him into disclosures which might suggest subsequent definite charges.

Edicts were annually published enjoining the duty of good Christians who had fallen into errors to avow and confess them, and also of their obligation to inform against any one whom they knew to be heretically disposed. Depositions were accepted,

¹ Preface to Perez, ‘ *Epistola Consolatoria*. ’

whether anonymous or signed, it being only necessary to specify the names of witnesses. Victims of such attacks immediately disappeared from their accustomed haunts. Venetian political policy was carried out in Spain in reference to religion. The office of the Inquisition, with its ever-open ears, resembled the ducal palace, with its ever-open lion's mouth ; and Spaniards could not but shudder at hidden cells, as Venetians did at dungeons, close to the canal, and at the *piombi* in the Grand Duke's roof. The prisoner saw no one but Inquisitor, jailer and priest ; only garbled extracts from volunteered charges were ever placed in his hands ; and, when awaiting formal trial, he was mocked by an offer that he might have an advocate—the permissible advocate being an undoubted Catholic, prejudiced against his client. The horrors which went on in the secret places of this unparalleled institute it is impossible to relate, and I must refer the reader for a description of them to Limborch's 'History of the Inquisition,' and the 'History of Persecution,' by Dr. Chandler, who has condensed much information given by Limborch.¹

Different degrees of punishment were inflicted on persons convicted of heresy. Those who confessed themselves in error, and repudiated articles alleged against them, suffered loss of property and imprisonment, but they were reconciled to the Church, and escaped with life ; those who retained heretical opinions, and were sentenced to death, could at the last moment, by confessing to a priest and obtaining absolution, secure the privilege, so it was deemed, of being strangled before their bodies were consumed ; but such as would neither recant nor confess were generally burnt alive. In a few instances, however, the sentence was commuted, and, through pity, the victim was strangled. The burning alive in some places was worse than in others ; in Lisbon, a victim was fastened to a stake so high that the flames reduced the extremities

¹ Llorente's '*Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*,' is a storehouse of knowledge on this revolting subject, especially vol. i.

to ashes, whilst the upper part of the body continued to be roasted.¹

Autos de fé were spectacles in which hidden proceedings culminated in a spectacle of terrible publicity.

At these *autos* the victims were clothed in a dress called *sambenito*—sometimes by another name, the *samarra* or *samaretta*. Llorente² describes three kinds of this horrid costume. The first, for a penitent, or person who had generally recanted, and whose life was saved, consisted of a mantle with a large opening for the head, and covering the back and front of the body, marked by a broad St. Andrew's cross; the second, of like form, for one who, after being condemned to death by fire, had expressed repentance, and therefore was to be strangled before being consumed, was marked by the badge of reversed flames, indicating a commutation of sentence; the third, for such as, constant to the last, would not recant, and were burnt alive, displayed pictures of flames burning upwards, a head surrounded by fire, and devils with an instrument of torture. A mitre, similarly painted, was worn by persons of the two latter classes. The mantles in both cases were saffron-coloured—that being characteristic of Judas Iscariot—hence Spaniards hate a yellow hue.

An *auto* was witnessed in Seville the 24th of September, 1559, in the presence of the Court of Justice, the canons of the cathedral, a number of dignitaries, and the Duchess de Bejar, surrounded by other ladies of rank.

In an old square, called the Plaza Constitucional, near the cathedral—and not to be confounded with the Plaza Nueva, which it adjoins, and which is surrounded by modern buildings—may be seen, on three sides, a line of old-fashioned shops and dwellings,

¹ Geddes' 'Tracts,' i. 447.

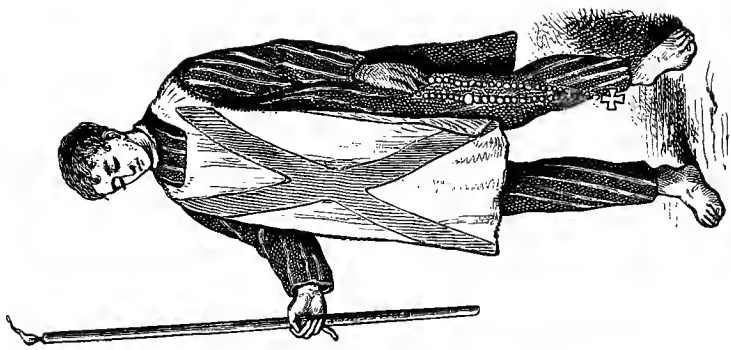
² Vol. i. 328. In the 'Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ,' a full account is given of an *auto de fé*. This work, which was exceedingly scarce, has been reprinted in the 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.'



Dress of the martyr.



Dress of one condemned to be strangled.



Dress of a penitent whose life is saved.

THE SANBENITO.

some of them supported by arcades on marble columns. A little altered, they seem, many of them, to have lasted three hundred years. Forming part of the fourth side is a piece of ornate architecture belonging to the Audiencia, or municipal hall, which carries one back to the time of Charles V. The Plaza was anciently the scene of public spectacles. Here multitudes gathered to witness royal pageants; here it was that the *autos*—the religious ceremonies connected with the immolation or the penance of Moors, Jews, and heretics—took place. It is the spot where men and women such as I have described were brought from the Triana to witness the ceremonies of the Church, and to hear a sermon from a priest of the Inquisition, before the sentence pronounced against them was executed. At one of the windows of the hall represented sat Philip II. as the condemned, in their *sanbenitos*, were led up to their seats, tier above tier, on each side of the altar where mass was performed.¹

Between the railway-station and the palace of San Telmo is El Prado de San Sebastian, a large open space outside the city walls, where in spring a fair is held which attracts an immense multitude of people from both the highest and lowest ranks. Here "was the *quemadero*, or the burning-place of the Inquisition, where the last act of the religious tragedy of the *auto de fé* was left, with the odium, to be performed by the civil power. The spot of fire is marked by the foundations of a square platform on which the faggots were piled."² When Mr. Hare visited Seville a few years ago, he distinctly traced amongst the grass the remains of this platform.³ I was fortunate enough to have with me when I went to look at the place the same lady who accompanied him on that occasion; but, on endeavouring to identify the exact position of the remains, alterations were found to have been made in the ground

¹ A picture of an *auto* is given at p. 217.

² Murray's last edition of Ford's 'Spain,' 347.

³ 'Wanderings in Spain.'

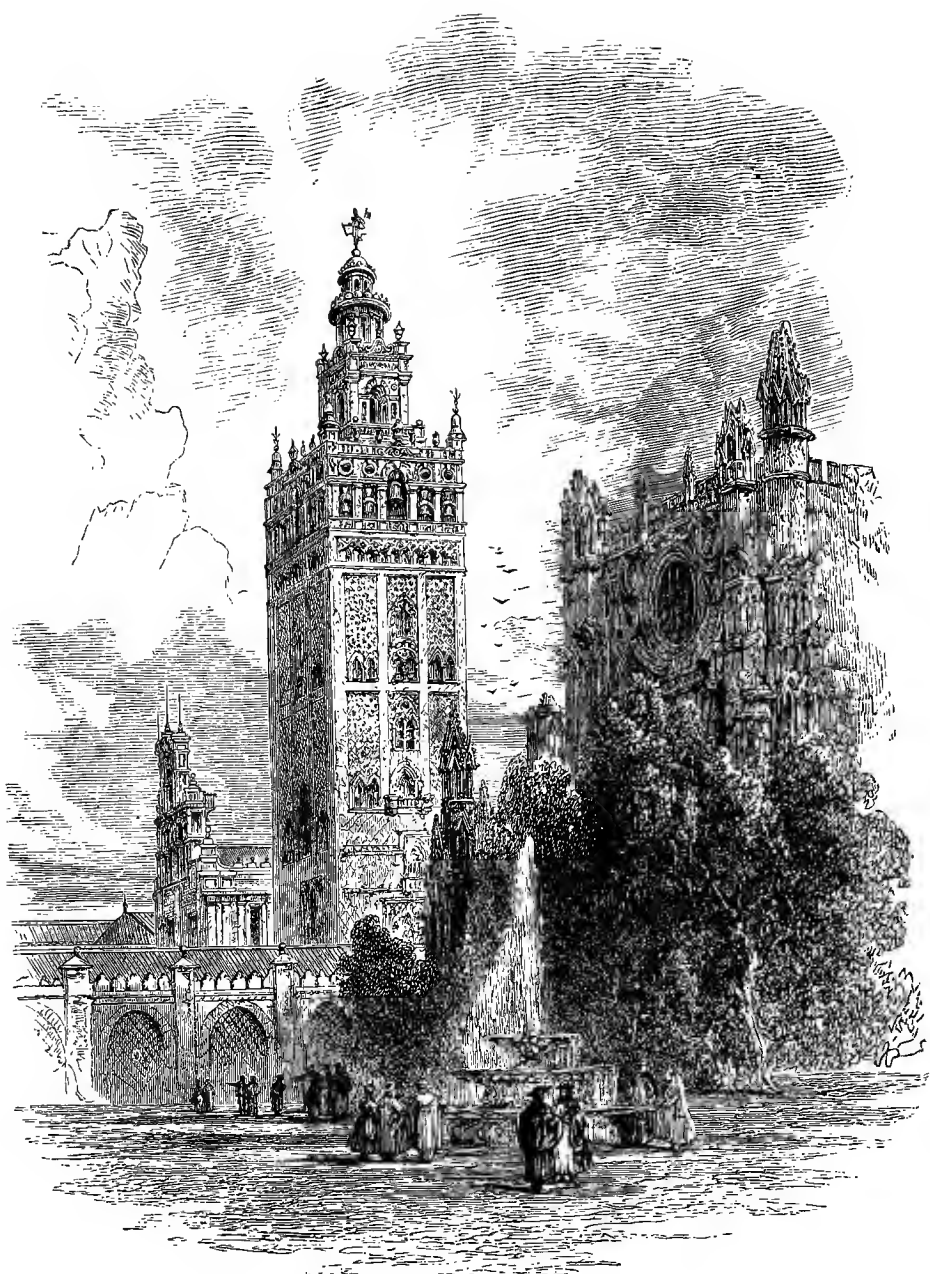
such as rendered the identification impossible. However, it cannot be doubted that the *quemadero* was thereabouts—the most conspicuous object within sight of the sufferers at the awful moment being the beautiful Giralda.¹

One of the sufferers in September, 1559, had been previously tormented in a shocking manner. His name was Juan de Leon, who fled from Mexico, and returned to Seville, where he entered the convent of Isidoro. Juan Fernandez, sometimes called Juan Sanches,² had accompanied Juan de Leon in an attempt to escape the Inquisition. Overtaken by the officers, they were brought back to Spain, loaded with fetters and manacles, their faces covered with iron masks, and a gag thrust into their mouths to prevent their speaking. The fortitude of Juan de Leon is specially commemorated in the annals of Seville martyrdom. His persecutors hoped to work on his fears by describing the horrors of being burnt alive; but the picture could not move the confessor's intrepidity. Led to the stake, he calmly met the executioners, who came with torches to set on fire the heaped-up fagots.

Juan Gonzalez, of Moorish descent, and a celebrated Protestant preacher in Andalusia, manifested equal heroism in prison and at the stake. The Inquisitors sought to obtain from him evidence against his brethren, but he resisted these attempts, and professed his own convictions with unmistakable plainness. Coming on the morning of his martyrdom from the prison of the Triana, as if

¹ The lady I refer to is Miss Butcher, who is doing a good work at Seville. Her girls' school in Calle de Vicente will be noticed hereafter. I may add, the Inquisition at Seville, between 1484 and 1520, committed no less than 4000 victims to the flames, and condemned many times that number to imprisonment and the galleys. (Dunham's 'History of Spain and Portugal,' 272; he gives numerous authorities.) I purchased in Seville a local history entitled 'Sevilla Histórica Monumental, Artística y Topográfica;' but I can find in it not one word respecting the Protestant martyrs burnt in that city, or the existence of the Inquisition. There is a very brief allusion to *autos*, of which it says the last was in April, 1660.

² Much obscurity rests on this person. The accounts are confused.



THE GIRALDA, SEVILLE.

going to a triumph, accompanied by two sisters, doomed to suffer with him, he began to sing the Psalm, "Hold not Thy peace, O God of my praise, for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me." His mouth was immediately gagged, and at the scene of the grand *auto* he listened patiently to the sentence of degradation and death, meekly submitting to a ceremony which removed him from the priesthood. His sisters said they would do what he did; and the gag being removed, with the hope that he would yield, he only exhorted them to continued constancy. They were strangled, and he was left to be burnt alive.¹

García de Arias, the white-haired doctor, had become a changed man. His duplicity was gone. On his trial he mocked the Inquisitors, and, being condemned to be burnt alive, he ascended the scaffold leaning on his staff, and passed through the ordeal at the stake with heroic joy. Of Cristóbal Losada it is said he submitted to the pains of death with "rare intrepidity." Juan González, Cristóbal Arellano, and Fernando de San Juan were all burnt alive. I shrink from the harrowing details. Cristóbal Losada disputed with the friars on the edge of the blazing pyre.

Doña María de Bohorques suffered at this *auto*, avowing her faith, advocating Lutheran tenets, and resisting priestly entreaties to the last. On her way to execution she cheered her companions by singing hymns; and when she saw Juan Ponce ready to waver, she upbraided the poor fellow for his cowardice. She carried on controversy until she was mercifully strangled.

Don Ponce de León confessed to a priest, and received absolution, thus saving himself from being burnt alive. It seems that some who submitted to confession as members of the Spanish Church, did not consider that they thereby abjured their Evangelical convictions. The effigy of Zafra, who had escaped his tormentors, was burnt on this occasion.

¹ The story is told in 'Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes,' 207.

A second *auto* was held in the same place on the 22nd of December, 1560. Effigies of Egidius and Constantino, both dead, and Juan Perez, who had escaped, were brought out and burnt.

Juliano Hernandez, a man of humble rank—like Zacchæus, little of stature—a sort of colporteur, who had crossed mountains and threaded city streets, secretly conveying the Scriptures and other books to many an inquiring spirit, a brave Christian, whose faith had been persecution-proof, now sealed the truth by the bravest endurance of death. “Courage, comrades!” he cried; “this is the hour in which we must show ourselves valiant soldiers for Jesus Christ. Let us now bear faithful testimony to His truth before men, and within a few hours we shall receive the testimony of His approbation before angels, and triumph with Him in heaven.”¹ He knelt down and kissed the stone which held the stake. Maria Gómez, the mad woman who gave so much trouble to her host Zafra, now appeared, in company with five relatives. One of the young women thanked her for the truths she had taught, and implored her pardon for past ingratitude. The old lady comforted her companions “in the tribulation and patience of Jesus Christ,” cheering them with the thought of coming bliss. The family embraced each other, and then submitted to the executioner. Two Englishmen suffered at the same time with these Spaniards; one, Nicholas Barton, because he had posted placards at Seville against the Romish faith; but, as the Inquisition was intended for citizens, not foreigners, the execution was illegal. William Burke, a Southampton sailor, was burnt at the same stake, though he had

¹ In the ‘*Inquisitionis Hispanicæ*,’ several interesting particulars are related respecting this man; they are repeated by M’Crie and others. He was fond of a refrain which he sung in prison—

“Vencidos van los frayles, vencidos van ;”
Corridos van los lobos, corridos van.”

The vanquished friars run, they run ;
Like scattered wolves they run, they run.

offered no insult to the Spanish Church. A Frenchman from Bayonne shared a like fate.

A case of singular barbarity happened. Doña Juana de Bohorques, to whom the reader has been introduced, was apprehended whilst expecting her confinement; committed to prison until the child was born, she had the babe taken from her arms eight days afterwards. A Lutheran girl placed in the same cell did what she could to soothe her, and this kindness was continued when the girl one day was brought to her from the torture-chamber. Juana was placed on the rack; the ropes rent her flesh, and the rupture of a blood-vessel put an end to her mortal life.¹

Fourteen persons were delivered over to the secular power, and thirty-four were sentenced to minor punishments. It should be added that at this *auto* an effigy of Constantino was exhibited; and a curious account of peculiarities in the figure is given by Mr. B. B. Wiffen.²

It seems passing strange that in a country so renowned for chivalry as Spain such barbarities should be inflicted on women of the purest blood, daughters of the proudest knights, heiresses of noble name; but the fact is, the Inquisition crushed out all chivalry in the noblest form, and consigned chaste matrons and pure virgins to the flames, though they confessed Christ; treating them as their sires had done the Mohammedan and the Jew. The mystery can only be explained in this way—that heresy, through the teaching of priests, had come to be regarded by Spaniards not only as an unpardonable crime, but as an ineffaceable disgrace. Moral offences, even murder, did not fix such a stigma on the name of an individual and his family as did a rejection of established dogmas. A criminal on his way to execution excited pity—a Lutheran was regarded with horror. The one was kept

¹ This horrid case is related in the 'Inquisitionis Hispanicæ,' etc., p. 181.

² Notice prefaced to 'Confession of a Sinner.' The chief authority for what we know of these martyrs is the book so often referred to, 'Inq. Hisp.'

within—the other was flung outside the Church. Had it not been for this, surely the nobler spirits of the land would never have gazed on an *auto de fé* without rushing to the rescue! But then, what marvellous, almost incredible, heroism was, in consequence of this fact, manifested by men and women of the highest rank, who for the love of Christ underwent all the disgrace of being counted as heretics, and were more hated and despised than the most ferocious murderers! Truly they were “called and chosen and faithful.”

Before I leave Seville let me briefly point out certain peculiarities attaching to attempts at Reformation there and in other Spanish cities.

In England the cause was espoused less or more by Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; and, whatever may be thought of their influence on the spiritual interests of the Church, its importance in a political or social point of view is indisputable. In Germany Luther was helped in many ways by his princely patrons and friends. In France Huguenot armies fought on the side of Protestants. Nothing of the kind occurred in Spain—Church and State stood equally opposed to a Reformation there. In this respect Spain resembled Italy. So it did in another respect. Evangelical truth in the beautiful southern peninsula made way amongst people of culture and people of rank, though it was intensely disliked by the Italian governments. The discussions of literary academies, and the select gatherings of noble ladies at Valdés' house, illustrate the fact. In this respect, a considerable resemblance to Italy is found in Spain, not so much in reference to learning as in reference to rank. How many of the *hidalgo* class are found amongst the confessors at Seville we have seen. But very few of the poor were among them. Now, in England, together with royal sympathy, there was a large amount of popular sympathy, as seen in crowds round St. Paul's pulpit when Reformers preached. Much the same thing may be said of Germany and France. Moreover, in the countries named, there

were direct and unsparing attacks directed against the supremacy of the pope and other Romanistic dogmas. Mariolatry, transubstantiation, purgatory, and the like were boldly dealt with without the smallest ceremony, whereas the Spanish Protestants, if we may call them by that name, seem most of them to have abstained from such controversy, and not to have pushed their warfare into the enemy's dominions. Finally, there was a peculiar want of outspokenness amongst several of the Evangelical Spaniards. We have had examples of this already ; we shall meet with more. Reticence, concealment, *finesse* we detect in painful instances. We miss in most of them the boldness of Luther, Calvin, Latimer and Ridley.

CHAPTER IX.

CONVENT OF SAN YUSTE.

"ABOUT an eight hours' pleasant ride from Plasencia,"—reached by railway on the line from Madrid to Lisbon—brings a traveller to the Jeronymite monastery where Charles V. closed his eventful life.¹ The building is situated on a south-western slope of the Sierra de Vera, overlooking a valley, said to resemble the happy one described in Rasselas. The convent is sheltered by woods from the cold winds.

Forty years ago, when Mr. Ford visited it, the entrance was under a walnut tree, where the emperor used to sit, and which was then called *el nogal grande*. The convent had suffered great injury from the soldiers of Marshal Soult in 1809, who left it a "blackened roofless ruin;" and the church reformers of Cuacos in 1821 had stolen what was left by the French, turned the church into a stable, and made the emperor's room a place for silk-worms!

But much of the scenery retained its original character. "The eye in the clear evening swept over the boundless valley, the nightingales sang sweetly in the neglected orange garden, and the bright stars, reflected in the ink-black tank below, twinkled like diamonds: how often had Charles looked out in the stilly eve on this selfsame unchanged scene where he alone was now wanting!"

"When supper was done," adds Mr. Ford, "I shook hands all

¹ Ford's 'Handbook,' third edition, 496. Yuste is so difficult of access, I could not reach it.

round with my kind hosts, and went to bed, in the very chamber where the emperor slept his last sleep. All was soon silent, and the spirit of the mighty dead ruled again in his last home ; but no Charles disturbed the deep slumber of a weary insignificant stranger. Long ere daybreak next morning I was awakened by a pale monk, and summoned to the early mass, which the prior in his forethought had ordered. The chapel was imperfectly lighted ; the small congregation consisted of the monks, my sunburnt muleteer, and a stray beggar, who, like myself, had been sheltered in the convent. When the service was concluded, all bowed a farewell to the altar on which the dying glance of Charles had been fixed, and departed in peace. The morning was grey and the mountain air keen, nor was it until the sun had risen high that its cheerful beams dispelled the cowl, and relaid the ghost of Charles in the dim pages of history."

The church was standing in 1857, "but the delicately carved woodwork of the choir, and the beautiful tiles that adorned the walls had fallen from their places or been torn away by the hand of violence. All around, the ground was covered with the wreck of former splendours, with fallen columns and shattered arches, while the black and scathed walls of the older cloister still towered in gloomy grandeur above the scene of desolation."¹

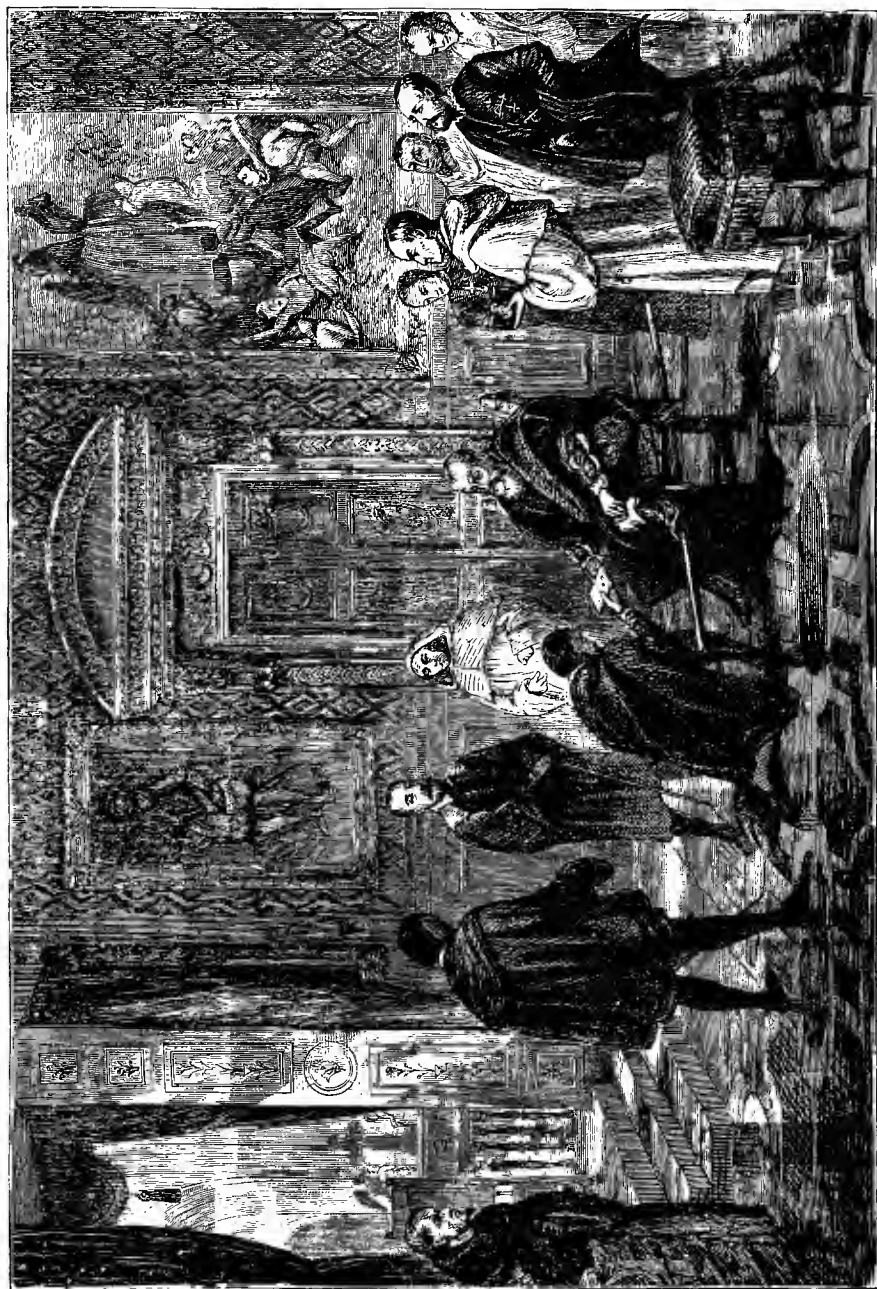
The emperor's connection with the Reformation in Spain as well as Germany, and the bearing of certain incidents which occurred at Yuste upon subjects I have introduced, render some notice of what took place there desirable in the present chapter. Shades of obscurity, thick as the clouds which at times gather in that neighbourhood, long rested on this portion of history ; and the efforts made to dispel them chiefly served to create delusive imaginations. One author after another, adding to the mistakes of his predecessors, rendered the whole a mass of confusion, until the MSS. of Simancas were brought to light, and Don Tomas Gonzalez,

¹ Prescott's edition of Robertson's 'Charles V.,' ii. 632.

followed by M. Mignet and Mr. Stirling, placed the story on true historical grounds. 'The Cloister Life of Charles V.' is a charming volume from the pen of the last-named writer; and Mr. Prescott made good use of his discoveries in an appendix to Robertson's 'History of Charles V.'

This royal abode, after the owner's abdication, so grandly solemnised at Brussels in 1556, consisted of only eight rooms of uniform size, opening upon a corridor. One of them was contiguous to the chapel of the monks, so that his Majesty, when ill in bed, could, through a window, witness the elevation of the Host. There hung a glorious portrait by Titian, which is still preserved and carefully pointed out on a wall of the Escorial Palace. Terraces were arranged in front of the imperial apartments, adorned by flower-beds, fountains and fish ponds. An alley shaded with orange, citron, and mulberry trees led to a summer-house, the ruins of which might be traced a few years ago. The northern chambers were dark; the south, open to the sun, were light and cheerful, and the windows were overhung with vine branches, and orange trees, flourishing under the warmth of the sun in front. The prospect of the forest-crowned sierra, and of the wide and fertile expanse at its foot, was truly magnificent.

Even so slight a matter as the furniture of this dwelling has been misrepresented, owing to passages in Sandoval, the royal historian; for the inventory drawn up after Charles's death makes mention of Turkey carpets, velvet and cloth hangings, breadths of Flemish tapestry, and tables and chairs of rich material and elaborate workmanship; plenty of costly plate was at the master's service, so that though he professedly became a monk, he retained the luxuries of his kingly life. As to eating and drinking he was most particular, and no modern gourmand could be more dainty in the choice of dishes than he was. Pictures of great beauty and worth hung on the walls, especially the *de la Gloria* and others from the pencil of Titian. Charles had a taste for music, was a



CHARLES V. AT SAN YUSTE.

connoisseur in that art, and insisted upon the most careful performance of religious services. He made a formal profession on his entrance into the Jeronymite order, when mass was said and a sermon preached. The preacher told his hearer, "how much more glorious it was to become the servant of Christ, poor and lowly as such a condition might be, than to be lord of the whole world." But this flattery of his royal brother, now acting the neophyte, was ludicrously contradicted by the luxuries in which he still indulged. His attention to rites and ceremonies was punctilious in the extreme. Mass and vespers he regularly attended. He desired to be drenched with holy water, not content with the sprinkling of a few drops. In all his devotions he displayed great earnestness, and though he did not keep fasts himself—on the ground of personal infirmities—he zealously enforced them on others. On Ash Wednesday he took care that no one was absent. Every Friday in Lent, after service was over, and the lights were extinguished, he would unsparingly lash his own back and shoulders till they were stained with blood. There is no room to doubt his sincerity in all this ; and it is instructive, in connection with our whole subject, to look at the emperor's conduct in this way, as typical of religion in Spain over which he had ruled for many years. Such a union of worldly pride with ritual humility, of intense ambition with self-inflicted pain, of sensual luxury with fervour of devotion, thoroughly represents the state of things in that country at the period of the Reformation.

It is a further mistake to suppose that the royal recluse, who had shut himself out of the world, ceased to take a lively interest in its affairs. He would talk to the monks about religion, would listen attentively to the reading of saintly books after dinner, would glorify a life of asceticism, and laud to the skies St. Francis of Assisi and other canonised souls ; but his delight still was to read despatches from his son, to hear reports of battles and political intrigues, and to plunge afresh into old schemes of

ambition. "He was completely withdrawn from the business of the kingdom and the concerns of government, as if he had never taken part in them." So speaks one historian. "He was so entirely abstracted in his solitude that neither the arrival of the treasures brought in his fleets from the Indies, nor the sound of arms, amidst which his life had been hitherto passed, had any power to disturb his tranquillity."¹ So says another. The truth is that he hated the policy of the Roman court as much as ever—detested France and its king as in days of yore, so that at one time it was thought he would resume his old place in Europe. He promised to aid his son Philip by word and deed, and caused letters to be written about places to be defended, troops to be raised, and tactics to be carried out. By personally applying to ecclesiastical dignitaries, he obtained sums of money, which he sent to the Duke of Alva, in support of his Italian campaign. "His counsels may be said to have directed the policy of the regent's court at Valladolid; and the despatches from Yuste were held in much the same deference as the edicts which had formerly issued from the imperial cabinet."² Consequently he may justly be regarded as responsible for the general measures executed in Spain during his lifetime for suppressing the Reformation. His occasional outbursts of passion were truly characteristic. In reference to an act which had displeased him he exclaimed—"Were it not for my infirmities, I would go to Seville myself, find out the authors of this villainy, and bring them to a speedy reckoning."³ This was said in 1557, when the Inquisition was at work in that city, though not in the fierce way displayed two years afterwards. Vazquez de Molina, Secretary of State for Castile, communicated with the emperor in April, 1558, on the progress of the Reformation in Spain. He told his Majesty that Protestants were being arrested, and that the mischief they had done demanded a prompt and adequate remedy.

¹ Prescott's edition of Robertson's 'Charles V.,' ii. 566.

² Ibid. ii. 569.

³ Ibid. ii. 570.

It was necessary that the Inquisition with all diligence should stop the growing evil. Immediately afterwards, in May, Charles wrote to his daughter Juana, beseeching her to stir up the Archbishop of Seville to augmented zeal against heresy, stimulating her by the information that measures similar to those he recommended had been employed in England by Philip, and that this was a strong reason for their adoption in Spain. It may be noticed here that Philip was then by no means behind his father in the battle with Protestantism, for he ordered that all who bought and sold prohibited books should be burnt alive. Letter after letter from Charles to his daughter followed in the same strain as those now cited, showing how earnest he was in the business of persecution. In a short time he was at his desk again, writing to the princess, telling her to employ punishment for the arrest of the enormous evil.¹ Again he said to Vazquez: "The culprits should be arrested, put in irons, and removed under a strong guard to Simancas, where they should be thrown into a dungeon, and their effects sequestered until the king's pleasure can be known." Capable of such indignation at what he considered wrong, what might he not have done to stay persecution, if he had been so disposed!

The loss of Calais in the reign of Mary, Philip's wife, was a terrible blow to the emperor. He fancied he saw French armies marching on Brussels; and reverses there might lead to disasters in Philip's southern dominions. He forwarded despatches to Valladolid, urging that remittances should be forthwith sent to his son. "I know," he said to the regent left in Spain, "that you will require no arguments of mine to make you use all diligence in this matter. But I cannot help writing, for I feel so sensibly what may be the consequences of the late disaster, that I shall have no more peace till I learn what has been done to repair it."

¹ The letters to Juana are found in 'Gachard Correspondence, Philip II.,' ii. 417. There is a list of Lutherans imprisoned at Valladolid.

Besides other misapprehensions of the relation in which Charles stood to Protestantism, it has been supposed that in German affairs at least he had been tolerantly disposed. It is quite true he had conceded something at Augsburg to the modest requests of Reformers. Extreme Romanists had advised that he should execute the Edict of Worms at the sword's point; but he listened to moderate counsels, hoping that thereby he might conciliate the Protestant party. It is also true that he had interposed on behalf of personal favourites seized by the fangs of the Inquisition, as in the case of Alfonso de Virves, who when condemned to abjure, in the metropolitan church of Seville, the heresies of Martin Luther, was, through imperial intercession, relieved from further pains of censure; but when Constantino de Ponce was grasped by the fangs of the Holy Office, Charles at San Yuste exclaimed, "If Constantino be a heretic, he is a great one;" and when informed that the preacher he admired was found guilty, he remarked, "You cannot condemn a greater."¹

Further it is true, and the truth is very startling, that Charles was charged by Pope Paul IV. with being a protector of Lutheranism, and that Paul actually commenced a process on that score to deprive Charles of the imperial purple, and his son Philip of the Sicilian crown. His holiness even suspected him of heresy, because of decrees he had published in 1554, only three years before he returned to Yuste, and went so far as to think of issuing a bull of excommunication against father and son, and to release the Spanish as well as the German and Italian nations from their oaths of allegiance.² But it is plain that personal pique inflamed, if it did not originate this unseemly quarrel, Charles hating Paul, and Paul hating Charles; in consequence, partly at least, of their being mixed up in the feuds of the Colonna and Sforza families. It is equally true that Charles had been a patron of the Holy Office on many occasions, and had made great efforts in 1546 to establish its jurisdiction over the Neapolitan kingdom; to his credit, however,

¹ M'Crie, 135, 262.

² Llorente, ii. 173, 174.

be it said, he opposed the extension of Inquisitorial courts to the Indians of America.¹

If there had been now and then relentings in his bosom with regard to the treatment of heretics, they ceased after his arrival at Yuste. Letters written by him there breathe threatenings and slaughter. When he heard of what was going on at Valladolid, he wrote to his daughter Juana, "Tell the Grand Inquisitor and the council from me, to be at their posts, and to lay the axe at the root of the evil before it spreads further. I rely on your zeal for bringing the guilty to trial, and for having them punished, without favour to anyone with all the severity that their crimes demand." And again, "If I had not entire confidence that you would do your duty, and arrest the evil at once by chastising the guilty in good earnest, I know not how I could help leaving the monastery and taking the remedy into my own hands."² He expressed regret at not having violated the safe-conduct granted to Luther at the Diet of Worms, thus showing himself willing to walk in the steps of the Emperor Sigismund. And in the codicil to his will he enjoined on Philip to bring to justice every heretic in his dominions without a single exception. "So," he said, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings."³ The fact is, the emperor became more intolerant than ever during his residence in San Yuste's Convent. Bigotry flourishes more in solitude, or in the company of a few kindred spirits, than in the minds of men who mix with the world, and cannot but be familiar with a variety of opinions. To be shut up within the narrow walls of a mountain monastery, daily conversing with monks absorbed in their own order and in the glorification of their own Church, was the very thing, above all others, adapted to quench every lingering spark of sympathy and compassion.

A story is told of Charles, who was wont to amuse himself with

¹ Llorente, ii. 119, 196.

² Prescott's edition of 'Charles V.' by Robertson, ii. 599.

³ Ibid. ii. 612.

mechanical contrivances, that he had a number of watches, which he tried to regulate so that they should keep common time ; and that he remarked on the absurdity of striving to bring people to uniformity of religious opinions when he could not make two time-pieces agree with one another. Perhaps it is one of the many legends which gathered, nobody knew how, round his memory when he was gone ; but if there is any truth in it, it must have been this, that he thought amongst the human clocks those which could not be made to agree with the Roman dial had better be smashed in pieces, leaving the rest to go on ticking time with regularity.

Dr. Robertson, in his 'History of Charles V.,' gives the following account of a scene in the monastery :¹

"The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and, depreciating all the devout exercises in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, that would display his zeal and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to

¹ Prescott's edit. ii. 456.

inspire." Mr. Prescott, says, "It was not till the present day, that a more careful scrutiny, by discovering inconsistencies in the account, led some writers to regard it as a monkish legend, and to doubt the truth of it altogether." But a MS. written by one of the monks, and discovered at Brussels—the substance of which is printed in the '*Bulletins de la commission Royale d'Histoire*'—seems to be an authentic narrative of the way in which he anticipated his obsequies, and gives a version of the incident, shorn of the last extravagance adopted by Robertson. The emperor is represented as taking part in a funeral service, as being clad in mourning, as bearing a lighted candle, and placing it in the hands of a priest, as a sign of the surrender of his soul to God; but not a word is said of his wearing a shroud and lying in a coffin.

As the emperor's death approached, Carranza, of whom I shall have much to say in the next chapter, paid him a visit. He was the "black friar," so called from his swarthy visage, who had made his name famous by the part he took in the persecutions in England. He read at the emperor's desire some portions of Scripture, including the 130th Psalm, "Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice: let Thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplications. If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with Thee, that Thou mayest be feared. I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in His word do I hope. My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning: I say, more than they that watch for the morning. Let Israel hope in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. And He shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities."

Nothing could be more touching than that beautiful passage of Scripture at such a moment. Whether it was Carranza or the emperor who selected it, I do not know, probably the former; at all events what followed was in harmony with it. Kneeling at the bedside and holding up a crucifix, Carranza said, "Behold Him

who answers for all. There is no more sin: all is forgiven." Luther could not have said anything more Evangelical. Then followed another of Charles's preachers, who, not liking the tone of Carranza's words, added, "Your Majesty came into the world on the day of St. Matthew—you will leave on that of St. Matthias. St. Matthew and Matthias were two apostles, two brothers bearing nearly the same name, and both disciples of Jesus Christ. With such intercessors you can have nothing to fear. Let your Majesty turn your heart with confidence to God, who will this day put you in possession of glory;" one of these ministers of religion in the sick man's chamber pointed him to the cross of Christ, the other to the intercession of saints. "Thus," says Mignet, "the two doctrines which divided the world in the age of Charles V. were once more brought before him on the bed of death."

Funeral rites at Yuste continued after his decease for nine days, and services in his honour were performed at Valladolid, Seville, Toledo, Tarragona, and other places. The bells all over the country were tolled thrice a day for four months; and for that period no festival or public rejoicings were allowed. In 1574 the royal corpse was removed to the Escorial.

Four years before that, twelve years after Charles's death, Philip II. visited Yuste. There he read on the walls of the monastery, "In this holy house of Jerome of Yuste, Charles V., Emperor, King of the Spains, most Christian, most invincible, passed the close of a life which he had devoted to the defence of the faith and the maintenance of justice." On the wall of the terrace was another inscription: "His Majesty, the Emperor Don Charles the Fifth, our Lord, was sitting in this place, when he was taken ill on the thirty-first of August, at four in the afternoon. He died on the twenty-first of September at half-past two in the morning in the year of grace 1558." Mr. Prescott questions the accuracy of the former date; he says, "It should have been a day earlier."¹

¹ Edition of Robertson's 'Charles V.,' ii. 627.

CHAPTER X.

TOLEDO.

TOLEDO is within easy reach of Madrid—not more than forty miles—a distance now accomplished by rail in less than two hours and a half, but which in the diligence days occupied the traveller a much longer time. There is little to interest one on the road.

Views of Toledo from the railway station are finer than those obtained on approaching any other city in Spain which I was able to visit. Crossing the bridge over the Tagus, and ascending the hill—which reminds one of the rocky seat on which Durham Cathedral is placed, with the river flowing round its foot—the remark of Mr. Ford is found to be perfectly true :

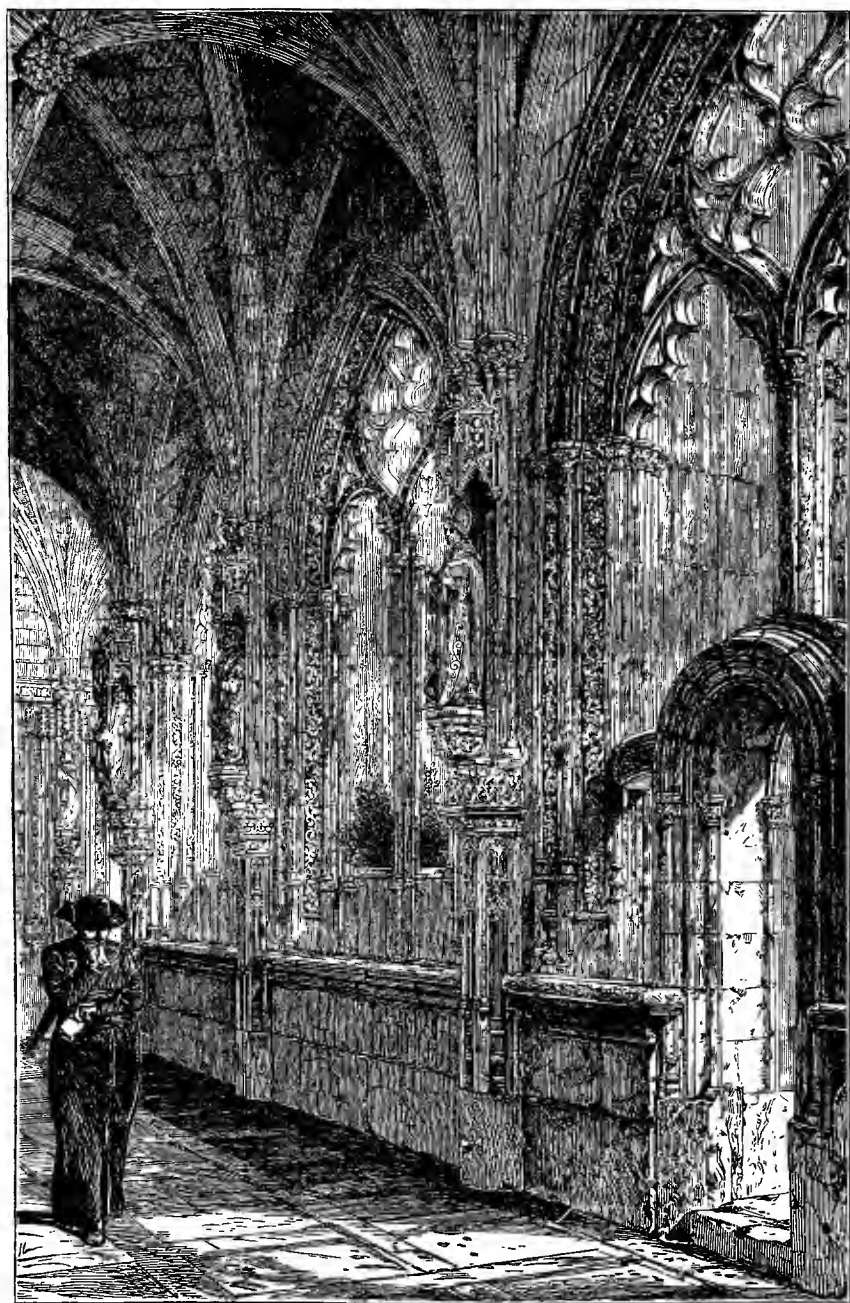
“Here the voice of the Goth echoes amid Roman ruins, and the step of the Christian treads on the heel of the Moor ; here are palaces without nobles, churches without congregations, walks without people ; the narrowness of the streets, by preventing carriage traffic, adds to that silence, so peculiar to the ancient cities of Spain, and which at once, as Cervantes said, strikes the ear of the stranger.”

Winding about through narrow streets, between lofty walls of strange complicated masonry, and past Moorish entrances opening into *patios* where bright green shrubs and bright red flowers shone in the sun, I could but think of Toledo as a wonderful album, with leaves on one side covered with romantic pictures, and on the other side written over with romantic legends. By

the bridge of St. Martin, at the foot of a rocky hill, is an old ruin called the Cava, which tradition says is the spot where was seen by Roderic, the last of the Goths, that lady whose seduction brought on him the Moorish invasion, and cost him his crown and kingdom. Hard by is the tower of St. Tomé, draped with chains worn by Christian captives during the Moorish dominion, a sight which helps to explain, though it cannot justify, or even excuse, the vengeance often wreaked on Moslems by their conquerors. Near to these touching trophies is a beautiful Jewish synagogue, now restored, where Jews were allowed to worship under Moslem sway. And again, going back to the tower of St. Tomé, you enter the convent of St. Juan los Reyes, with its sculptured chapel and cloisters, wondrously magnificent still, though desolate and mutilated, and within whose storied walls are seen unmistakable signs of the Christian dominion in Spain after the expulsion of its old enemies.

But the crown of all is the cathedral. Entering by the north transept door, there burst upon me the most enchanting vision of architectural sublimity and beauty I ever saw. At the moment, a flood of sunshine poured in through the richly stained windows, lighting up the Capilla Mayor, and the massive and delicate sculptures upon enormous piers on either side; saint after saint in canopied niches was revealed with wondrous effect. The whole building is an unparalleled treasury of art. At the south-west corner is the Mozarabic chapel, a plain building, where every morning the ritual of that name is used. A copy of it was shown me, a thin folio with the order of service in Latin; and near the beginning of the book is a curious engraving, which represents the ordeal of fire through which the two Missals passed.¹

¹ See page 26 of this volume. Dunham, in his 'History of Spain and Portugal,' iv. 281, gives another version, "Two fierce bulls were baptised—the one *Toledo*, the other *Rome*; and in presence of King and Court were pitched against each other. After a gory conflict, Toledo remained Victor." I endeavoured in vain to procure a copy of the Mozarabic Liturgy. Palmer ('Origines Liturgicæ,' i. 173), following Martene, describes it,



CLOISTERS AT SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES, TOLEDO.

Close to the cathedral is the archbishop's palace ; and the two together are connected with a remarkable character, who affords a characteristic specimen of persons not uncommon at the period of the Spanish Reformation. He entertained theological views of a Lutheran kind, yet supported the Church by persecuting heretics, and, at the same time, humbly suffered from the acts of the Inquisition.

His story must here be told.

Bartolomeo Carranza was born in 1503, at Miranda de Arga, a little town in the kingdom of Navarre.

His parents were of a noble family, and when he was twelve years of age he was sent to a college affiliated to the University of Alcalá, where his uncle was a doctor, who distinguished himself as a decided opponent of Erasmus. In 1535 the young man removed to another seminary, where he proceeded as student in the philosophy of arts. Two years afterwards he assumed the Dominican habit, in a convent of that order in Alcaria.¹ Immediately on his making this profession, he studied theology at far-famed Salamanca ; and in 1525 we find him at Valladolid at St. Gregory's College, with its gorgeous gateway.

His progress in study was extremely rapid. He read and thought much more than was common, and it was alleged against him in after years, that so early in life he limited the authority of the pope, and often presumed to utter opinions decidedly erroneous. The doctrines of Erasmus formed a topic for college talk, and Carranza ventured, on that subject, to differ from the current ideas. He was denounced before the Holy Office in 1530, as a defender of the Rotterdam divine in reference to penance, and to

and points out the resemblance to the Gallican. He considers that " the chief missionaries came from Gaul to Spain, and with the ecclesiastical order, introduced the liturgy of their own Church." I do not think this point can be established ; but at any rate it appears that both the Gallican and the early Spanish service had an Eastern rather than a Roman origin.

¹ Now Guadalajara in New Castile.

frequent confession by those guilty only of venial sin; and it was further objected to him that he hesitated to admit the authority of certain fathers; also that, following Erasmus, he dared to attribute the Apocalypse to another John than the fourth Evangelist.

After all, his credit does not appear to have been materially shaken, for in 1534 he was installed as Theological Professor at Valladolid. In 1537 he attained to such eminence as to be sent to Rome, to assist in the general chapter of the Dominican order, which occupied the Monastery of Sopra Minerva. There he maintained, with much ability, theses in the presence of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., and other great personages.

On returning to Spain he resumed his place at St. Gregory's; and there, in 1540, he obtained popularity by his beneficence to the mountain peasants of Leon and Santander. The self-denying Dominican sold his books to buy them bread, only reserving on his shelves the Bible and St. Thomas's 'Summa.' At that time he was constantly occupied with duties in connection with the Holy Office, being censor of writings sent him by the Supreme Council; he also preached sermons at *autos de fé*, especially one at the burning of Francisco San Roman.¹

In the same year, 1540, the bishopric of Cuzco, in Peru, was offered him, when he replied he was ready to go to America as a gospel missionary, but not as a bishop.

The fathers at Trent were sitting in 1545. The eyes of Europe were turned in that direction, and Spain, as well as Italy and Germany, was deeply interested in the discussions. The Spanish priest Carranza delivered a sermon during the sittings of the Council at the Church of St. Laurence; his subject was justification, a main topic of controversy at that period between Catholics and Protestants, though some of the former at Trent approached the latter on this point so closely as to surprise people unacquainted

¹ Llorente, iii. 188.

with the theology of those days. The Archbishop of Siena ascribed all merit to Christ, and none to man, and spoke of righteousness as obtained by faith only. The Bishop of Cava followed on the same side, contending that hope and love are the companions of faith, and not the causes of our being justified, whilst Caterinus maintained that good works are not the foundation but the fruit of righteousness.¹ The sermon delivered by Carranza was printed, but I do not know where it is to be found. It was not condemned. The same year, a book by him on the Councils of the Church was printed at Rome; and at Venice in 1547, another on theological controversies, which was attacked by Father Caterinus and defended by Father Soto, both of them Dominicans.

Carranza must by this time have become a court favourite, for in 1548 he was nominated confessor to Philip II., then Prince of Asturias. The nomination came from his father, who, by wishing the Dominican to be the keeper of the prince's conscience, showed the confidence he had in his character. Next year he was nominated to the diocese of the Canaries, but he again refused a mitre, counting himself unworthy of the honour. At the same time the Dominicans of Plasencia elected him prior of their monastery, an appointment which he accepted; and in that capacity he delivered expositions of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, a choice which necessarily led him to treat of justification. In the capacity of provincial in Castile he visited that province, diligently applying himself to the enforcement of monastic rules and of offices for souls in purgatory—thus striving to unite together incompatible doctrinal views and ecclesiastical practices. It was the habit of his life to act in this manner.

The Council being convoked again at Trent in 1551, the provincial attended by order of the emperor, armed with full powers from the Archbishop of Toledo. Present at assemblies and

¹ Father Paul's 'History.'

congregations till the suspension of meetings in 1552, he took a part in drawing up an index of forbidden books. On returning to Spain, the term of his provincial office expired, and he once more entered the College of St. Gregory. The Inquisition was now busy with difficult questions which required his assistance, and he helped to edit a Latin Bible, which served as a standard for subsequent editions.

Carranza accompanied Philip to England on his marriage with Queen Mary, and helped, together with Cardinal Pole, to restore popery in her dominions. He preached and convinced many heretics, we are told, as well by his writings as by his voice ; and yet Villa Garcia, a Dominican pupil of this active proselyter, was, on returning to Spain, apprehended by the Inquisition as a suspected heretic, because of his intimacy with Carranza. The man's life is made up of surprises ; for while he was in England he says, with the king's permission (Philip II.), " I caused the bodies of the greatest heretics to be disinterred, and they were burnt to support the power of the Inquisition." He alludes here to the disinterment of deceased Protestants at Cambridge, described by Foxe, who tells us that, bound with ropes and laid on men's shoulders, they were carried into the midst of the market-place, and fastened as if alive with chains to a stake, and then reduced to ashes.¹ Bucer's corpse was treated in this fashion. In England Carranza got the name of "the black friar ;" and to aid the Inquisition he drew up a list of Spaniards who had sought refuge in England and Flanders because of their religious convictions.

On the death of Siliceo, Philip offered his confessor the archbishopric of Toledo, which, with great reluctance, he accepted in obedience to the royal command. The appointment was approved by Paul IV., and the prelate-elect took possession of his see in March, 1558. He was consecrated at Brussels with more than usual pomp, and soon afterwards he published Commentaries on

¹ ' Acts and Monuments,' viii. 282.

the Catechism. In the west plaza of Toledo Cathedral stands the episcopal palace with its fine portal. There Carranza resided in princely state. By the entrance to the *coro*, there are two pulpits of metal, gilded all over, and placed on marble columns of wonderful workmanship. In one of them I suppose the archbishop preached.

We lately saw him at the death-bed of the emperor, and heard his memorable words, "Behold Him who answers for all. There is no more sin; all is forgiven." Those words reached the ears of the emperor's confessor, Father Regla, who was present, and of others also who, dismayed at the utterance of such a Protestant sentiment, from that hour plotted the destruction of the "black friar," now Primate of Spain.

He had several personal enemies; Pedro de Castro, Bishop of Cuenca, and Valdés, Inquisitor-General, were of that number. The first of these reported to the second, that in the writings of Carranza were Lutheran opinions upon justification. He further said that he had heard the archbishop preach in London, when he spoke of the same doctrine in a Lutheran tone; also he had used "perilous language;" and somebody had whispered, "Carranza has preached like Melancthon." In agreement with his counsel to the dying emperor, he was represented as having declared he would confess on his own death-bed that he renounced all merit, and, availing himself of Christ's atonement, his sins would be as though they had never been.

On the strength of such charges the Inquisitor-General decreed that the primate should be imprisoned. In the meantime the latter received a message from the Princess Juana commanding him to proceed to her at Valladolid. Afterwards he met with persons who told him rumours were abroad that he would be arrested. At length we find him at Tordelaguna, a town under his jurisdiction, and there, one Sunday night in August, the following scene took place.

A friar in attendance on the archbishop was sleeping in an antechamber when some men knocked at the door.

"Who is there?" he asked.

"Open to the Holy Office," was the reply.

Instantly they were admitted. At once they proceeded to the room where the primate slept, and the potent words, "*The Holy Office*," opened a second door. Rodrigo de Castro, who had supped with Carranza, stalked in, and said, "Most illustrious señor, I am commanded by the Holy Office to make you prisoner."

"Have you orders to do that?"

"Yes, señor." The order of the Inquisitor-General was produced, with the names of the council appended.

"But these cannot be my judges," he retorted. "I am immediately subject to the pope, and to him I make my appeal."

"On this point your reverence shall have satisfaction," it was added; at the same moment a papal brief appeared and was read.¹ That settled the matter.

The poor archbishop—in a coach says one authority, on a mule says another—was conveyed to Valladolid.

He was kept in confinement for two years, in such a state of seclusion from the world that though a fire broke out at Valladolid and destroyed four houses, he never heard a word about the incident.

Philip, so far from protesting against this treatment of his confessor, bowed before the tribunal, and, forgetful of his servant's claims, regarded him with aversion, not because anything had been proved against him, but simply because he was suspected of heresy. Carranza still had friends. There were fathers at the Council of Trent who commiserated his condition, indeed, espoused

¹ Dr. Rule, in his 'Hist. of the Inquisition' (177), tells this story, and cites as authorities, Llorente and Adolfo de Castro. The latter does not stand high in my estimation. Prescott, in his 'Life of Philip II.,' relates the history of Carranza, and refers to Salazar's life of him, and to 'Documentos Inéditos,' as well as to Llorente.

his cause. They had been convoked for the third time, and bishops charged with the examination of books had their attention called to Carranza's catechism. They approved of it, and gave it their imprimatur. The Spanish ambassador present at the Council protested, in the name of his master, against this proceeding, because the author of the book was before the Inquisition. A Spanish bishop backed this objection, and said that he was a member of the committee, but was not present at the meeting when the catechism was under consideration; he highly disapproved of what had been done. The two men disliked the primate extremely, and charged the committee with countenancing heterodoxy. The Archbishop of Prague, who presided over the Censure Committee, demanded from the Spanish prelate an apology for the insult he had offered, and until it was offered, he said he would no longer sit in the Council.¹ Cardinal Moron interposed to throw oil on the waters, and suggested that the sanction of the catechism should remain as it was, but that no further copy of it should be given, whilst the one already issued was to be in the keeping of the archbishop's agent. Such a device was in harmony with common contrivances to keep all smooth above board, whatever elements of contention might be concealed underneath. Philip was angry with the Council, and many of its members were angry with him; yet there was no relenting towards his old friend and spiritual adviser. Pope Pius the Fifth appeared also on behalf of the accused. He was a brother Dominican, and could not endure that one of his order should be unfairly treated; accordingly he sent orders to Spain for the removal or suspension of the Grand Inquisitor. Pius was not to be trifled with, and even

¹ It is not generally known that there were great divisions in the Council. The letters of the Legate of the Emperor Charles V. informed him of this, and that all the Spanish bishops, except the Bishop of Granada, were opposed to withholding the cup from the laity. Altogether thirty-eight votes were given for the withholding, and thirty against it. The letters are quoted by Jenkins in his excellent work, 'Romanism: an Examination of the Creed of Pope Pius IV.,' p. 159 (Religious Tract Society).

Philip did not dare to resist the pontifical will. Consequently Carranza, after seven years' imprisonment in Spain, was sent to Rome, where he was kindly received by the pontiff, and handsomely lodged in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Pius proceeded to look over the immense heap of papers which had accumulated in the course of this business, but at the end of six years, when about to give judgment, he died. His successor, Gregory XIII., then took matters up, and at length determined on a decision. The primate was summoned before his holiness. There he stood alone, unsaluted by the dignitaries around him. His form was bowed down by a load of infirmity, and his face by careworn lines told of what he had endured. Kneeling he received his sentence. The decree of the Inquisition prohibiting the use of his catechism was confirmed, notwithstanding the endorsement of that catechism at Trent. Sixteen propositions in his writings of a Lutheran tinge were selected as censurable. He was to be suspended from the exercise of episcopal functions, and to be shut up for five years in a convent of his order. Eighteen years he had been persecuted in the way described. Sixteen days after the deliverance of this judgment he died. He expired in the Convent of Sopra Minerva, May 2, 1576, "with tears in his eyes declaring his innocence, and yet with strange inconsistency admitting the justice of his sentence. When he was interred, though it was upon a working-day, all the shops were shut up as close as if it had been Easter. The people had as great a veneration for his corpse as they could have had for that of a saint."¹

Then, to close all, the pope built a monument to his memory, bearing an inscription commemorative of his virtues.

The history of this singular case places in a striking light the power possessed by the Spanish Inquisition. It asserted for itself a singular measure of independence, so far agreeing with incidents in the earlier annals of Spain, when the Church and State in that

¹ Bayle's 'Dictionary,' ii. 337.

country would not allow of any outward interference whatever. In the present instance, the Spanish sovereign and the Spanish Inquisition united in assuming an attitude almost defiant towards the Council of Trent and the Pontiff of Rome. The Spanish ambassador bearded certain of the fathers so insultingly that an apology was demanded; yet the apology was not made, and the wound inflicted on their dignity was salved over by a miserable kind of ointment. The Council in this matter really succumbed to the Inquisition backed by the king. Also against the pope, the Spanish Holy Office manifested vast effrontery, so much so that he had to bring them to book by the exercise of his supreme power; after all it took years to settle the business, the documents dispatched from Spain to Rome being so numerous and difficult to understand, that they wore out the patience of his holiness. In the end the Inquisition really triumphed, for it procured the condemnation, the suspension, and the imprisonment of the primate, though Gregory XIII. thought well of the accused, and engraved in marble an eulogium on his character.

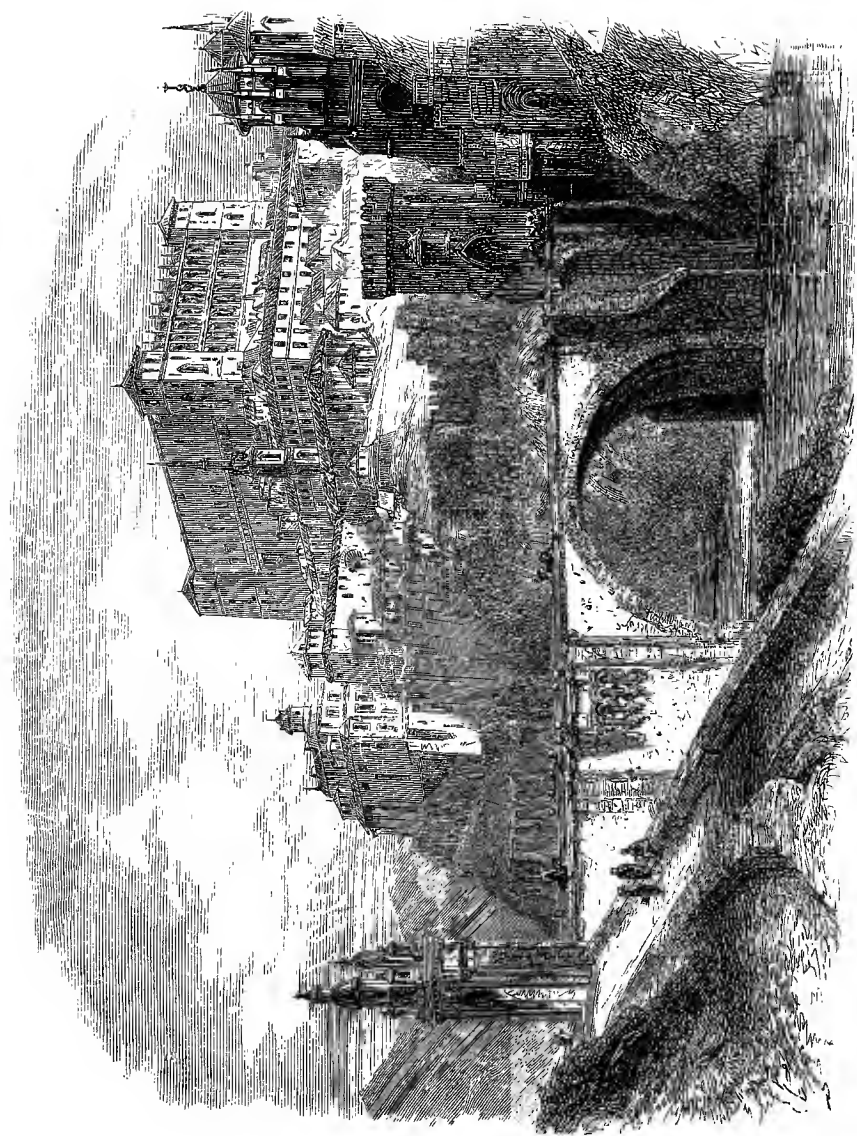
On reviewing the whole, I think there can be no doubt that Carranza believed in the doctrine of justification by faith. His advice to Charles V. proves this, and propositions extracted from his writings confirm it. But he believed in other doctrines and practices, which in a number of cases would render the mere theoretical opinion quite nugatory. Besides, he held with tenacity to the wretched principle, that error can be crushed, and truth established by the employment of force. It often happens that men holding views discordant with the Church system to which they still adhere, defend themselves against charges of unfaithfulness by a more than ordinary amount of zeal in maintaining such parts of the system as they thoroughly approve. They know they are suspected, and therefore do everything they can to recover a reputation for orthodoxy. Carranza seems to have been of this class. The more suspected in one respect the more demonstrative

he was in another. He had maintained what was deemed heresy ; but he would be sound to the last degree in abetting the power of the Inquisition—the grand safeguard of the Church in the eyes of Catholic Spaniards.

Carranza in his inconsistency did not stand alone. He resembled Cardinal Contarini, who remained in other respects a decided Romanist to the end of his days, only lamenting the corruptions of the Church, and propounding at the same time the doctrine of justification by faith. Carranza resembled Cardinal Pole, who, indeed, went farther than Carranza in sympathetic intercourse with Reformers, and approved of the celebrated Italian work on 'The Death of Christ,' attributed to Paleario. Yet this man, who seemed so near the truth, helped to kindle the Smith-field fires.¹

There is in Toledo near the cathedral what Spaniards call the Zocodover, meaning "the square market." It is also called the Plaza Mayor, and is a semicircular area planted with trees, and surrounded by old houses supported in front by columns forming a colonnade—the top stories open to the air. Some of those buildings must have existed there in the days of Philip II. ; and from the Alcazar, rising in a lordly way over this place of public gathering, he descended to witness bull-fights and *autos de fé* on the occasion of his visiting this portion of his dominions. People of all ranks still swarm and buzz along the tree-shaded walks which border the plaza, where many a bull-fight has delighted the multitude. On the 25th of February, 1560, a memorable scene was enacted on this spot. Philip II. was married in Guadalajara to his third wife, the beautiful daughter of Catherine de' Medici. Toledo was decked with triumphal arches and other adornments, in which fancy ran riot amidst mythological stories and saintly legends,

¹ My view of Carranza is based on the facts of his life as given by Llorente, Prescott, Droin, and others. De Castro devotes three chapters to the subject. I cannot concur in some of his conclusions.



TOLEDO.

when the royal pair entered the city gates in brilliant procession to be welcomed by municipal authorities. For weeks the citizens kept holiday. Bull-fights and tournaments took place with more than usual magnificence ; and on the 25th of February an exhibition was added strangely out of keeping with wedding festivities. But in Spanish estimation it was religious and exciting, a demonstration of Catholic faith, and a sensational spectacle in which life and death came in agreeable contrast. An *auto de fé* was held.

The Zocodover was graced by the presence of the bride and bridegroom, Don Carlos, Prince of Asturias, Juana, the royal widow of Portugal and sister of Philip, with other members of the family, also of prelates and nobles in dazzling throngs. There they sat on velvet cushions, under rich awnings, curtained with tapestry, to hear a sermon preached by a Dominican friar, and to gaze on victims who had mounted the scaffold in *sanbenitos*, or in the garb of reconciled penitents. What immediately followed many visitors would not see, but enormous crowds would flock together round the blazing fires somewhere not far distant. Several Protestants were among the condemned, who escaped with minor punishments ; but one in particular is mentioned as burnt on this occasion, a gentleman in the train of Henry X. Duke of Brunswick, who was a stern opponent of Luther and his cause. It is thought that the victim was singled out to excite salutary fear in the Flemings, the Germans, and the French, who had come to Toledo, and who were suspected of leaning towards the new religion.

A year afterwards another *auto* was to be seen in the old Moorish city. Now four priests, two Spanish and two French, were burnt alive, as renegades to the faith of their fathers ; nineteen other condemned Protestants were admitted to reconciliation. One exceptional case is recorded. A royal page, Charles Estreet, born in Brussels, had been convicted of heresy ; but the amiable queen, touched with compassion at the youth's fate, interceded on his behalf, and prevailed on her husband to

remit the execution of capital punishment, on the faith of a promise to abandon heresy for the future.

Again on Trinity Sunday, in 1565, the fires were lighted, and several persons suffered—described as “Lutherans,” “believers,” and “Huguenots”—besides a number of Jews, Mohammedans, blasphemers, and necromancers.

In 1571, after intermediate *autos* not particularly described, one is mentioned, notable from the circumstance that Doctor Sigismund Archel, a native of Cagliari, was then immolated under peculiar circumstances. Arrested in Madrid in 1562, and then shut up in a prison at Toledo, he had contrived to escape, but before he crossed the frontiers he was again arrested, being detected by means of his portrait sent to a place where he hoped to be in security. He admitted that he believed in the doctrines alleged against him, but contended that, so far from being heretical, they were perfectly accordant with primitive Christianity, and that he really was more Catholic than the popish Spaniards. From strong excitement, he, as some others were tempted to do under circumstances of extreme irritation, ridiculed the priests who came to argue with him, and in consequence of this he was gagged on the scaffold; when brought to the stake he was stabbed with lances before his body was consumed. Amongst the condemned at this *auto* two other persons are mentioned—one for having told the inhabitants of the village of Yepes, where he lived, that it was useless to offer bread and wine to the dead and the saints, by which perhaps he meant, saying masses for the departed; and another for having said that it was better for Catholic priests to marry like Protestant pastors, than to profess celibacy, and then lead scandalous lives.¹

¹ Llorente, ii. chap. xxiv., ‘Inquisition de Tolède.’ In a Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in the British Museum I notice the following item:—“From the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo to the Council of the Inquisition, asking particulars of a prisoner named Captain Martin mentioned in a letter from Henry IV. of France, and enclosing

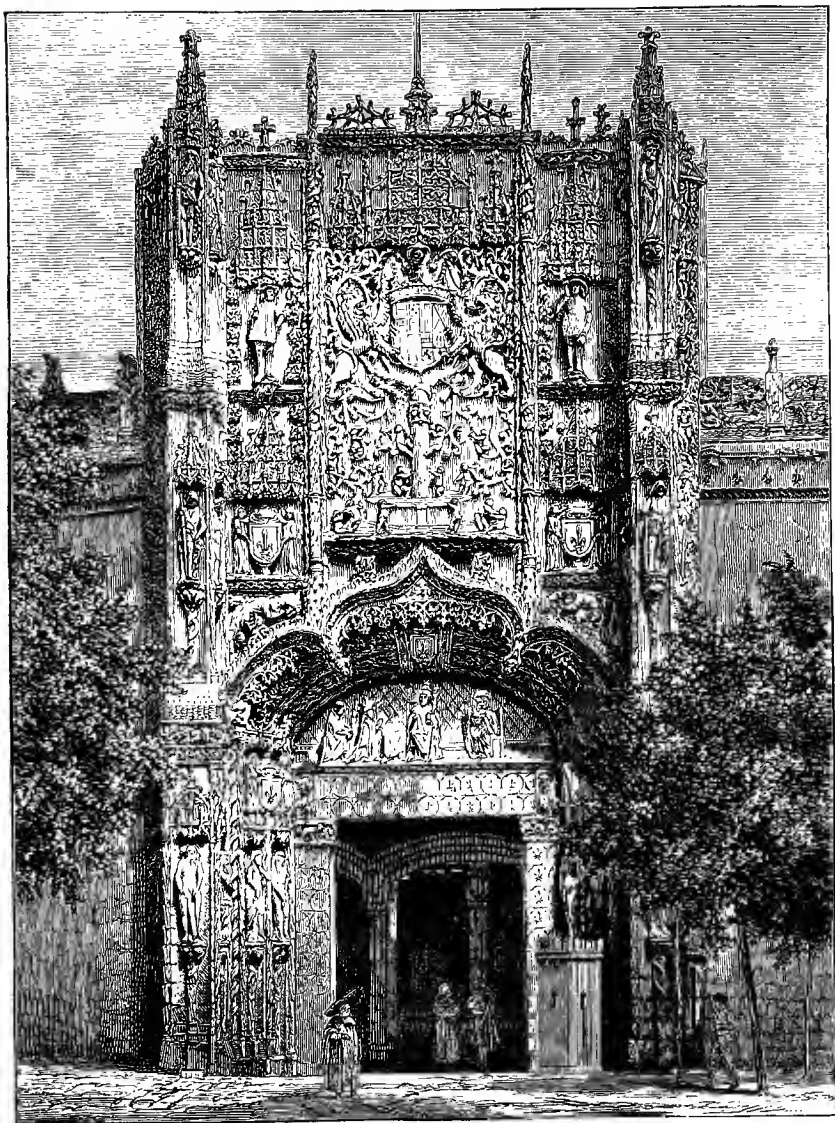
Towards the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century there was a movement in Toledo on the part of numerous citizens, who called themselves *Comuneros*, or *Communists*; not that they were *Communists*, in the present acceptation of the term, but political reformers aiming at changes in the condition of the State. The immediate occasion was the course adopted by Charles, as King of Spain; that course being deemed by many of his subjects a violation of constitutional principles. It was really a conflict between the people's purse and the king's prerogative, between the privilege of self-taxation and the exercise of despotic government. Royalty wanted money, and the community demanded the removal of grievances. The citizens of Toledo took up arms, and fought for what they deemed their rights, and Don Juan de Padilla, son of a nobleman, took the lead in their proceedings, and stirred up other Castilian cities to join in resistance of tyrannical rule. The demands of the dissatisfied developed as the quarrel advanced, and that which would have sufficed at the beginning to content the popular party was rejected at the end. Popular violence ran into frightful excesses at Toledo and elsewhere. The right of sanctuary in churches was violated, and a royal favourite, who fled to the altar for refuge, was torn away to die in prison, from blows received at the hands of a mob. Riots prevailed, and ran like wild-fire through the northern and eastern cities of Spain. In an advanced stage of the conflict, Padilla and others formed what they called "the holy junta," and drew up a list of grievances, for which they sought redress. Their grievances were mainly political, but a few were ecclesiastical; and they show that a measure of Church reform was contemplated in the remonstrance. The Spaniards had no idea of theological reform, such as then loomed in the sight of Germany, nor of ecclesiastical reform, such as

also a copy of a letter of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Ambassador in England, announcing that a number of English heretics were sent to Spain, there to spread their heresies. Toledo, 16 Nov. 1581."

afterwards appeared in England ; but dissatisfaction with existing abuses in spiritual matters had become apparent. A cardinal who held the reins of government during Charles's absence was very obnoxious, and some of the clergy were very unpopular ; yet this did not indicate any desire for what we understand by ecclesiastical improvement. There were however articles in the remonstrance which pointed at changes in Church as well as State. The junta asked that none but natives should hold a benefice ; that indulgences should not be preached or bestowed until the cause of their publication was examined and approved by the Cortes ; that the money raised by such means should be employed in carrying on war against the infidels ; that non-resident prelates should be deprived of their revenues ; that ecclesiastical judges should be prevented from exacting exorbitant fees ; that the Archbishop of Toledo, at that time a foreigner, should be removed, to allow of a Castilian prelate taking his place ; and that the king should never solicit the pope or any bishop to grant absolution for a breach of promise.¹

The struggle was unsuccessful. Padilla fought for reform, but totally failed. He was condemned and executed. His widow, a woman of commanding ability and of Amazonian courage, after desperate resistance, fled from Toledo to Portugal, where she died in poverty. Political aspirations were quenched in Spain, and with them disappeared attempts at ecclesiastical reform of the kind sought by members of the junta.

¹ Robertson's 'Charles V.' (under date 1522), vol. i. 323 ; Prescott's edition.



GATEWAY OF SAN GREGORIO, VALLADOLID.

CHAPTER XI.

VALLADOLID.

WE must now proceed to Valladolid, before we notice numerous associations which require attention at Madrid. I was not much interested in what I saw of the former city, though I paced the narrow streets again and again. The exterior of the cathedral is ugly in the extreme ; and I thoroughly concur with Mr. Street, who says nothing could ever cure its hideous unsightliness. The inside is not much better, the walls being naked without any kind of ornament. The only redeeming architectural feature in the town belongs to the combined edifices of San Pablo's Church, and San Gregorio's College.

The façade of the former is a wonderfully elaborate example of the Gothic flamboyant, lines of armorial decoration rising one above another ; but the gateway of the latter, with its heraldic ornaments of the same style, surpasses its neighbour. The cloister is very fine, and so is the staircase by which you reach a gallery running round the patio. But if Valladolid is lacking in public edifices, it can boast of being the residence of Columbus and Cervantes. Columbus died in the Calle de Colón, and Cervantes wrote the first part of ' Don Quixote ' in the Calle de Rastro.

Dr. M'Crie connects the name of Egidius of Seville with the early history of Protestantism in Valladolid, stating that on his visit to the city he found there "a number of converts to the Reformed doctrine." How those converts were made does not appear ; but afterwards Domingo de Roxas is described as occupying a leading

position amongst them.¹ His father was the first Marquis de Posa; the son destined for the Church entered the Dominican order. He received his education from Carranza, whom I have described in connection with Toledo; the latter advised his pupil to be cautious and modest; but the pupil was different from his teacher, and soon outstripped him in the race of knowledge and faith. He gave up purgatory and the mass, and deviated from other principles of the Church. He did not remain a silent disciple, but became an active propagator of the truth, inducing many neighbours of noble rank to espouse the cause to which he had devoted himself.

It is interesting to notice how many members of the same family in Valladolid and the neighbourhood embraced Protestantism, to a greater or less degree, thus showing the religious activity of their domestic life. The following instances are conspicuous.

Augustus Cazalla, commonly called Doctor Cazalla, a man of ability and renown, was the son of Don Pedro Cazalla, of Jewish extraction, and entered the world in 1510. He attended the College of San Gregorio, just mentioned. In his time the institution was in its glory, and possessed a superb library; some years ago, however, the building was transformed into a Governor's House. It is now used for public offices. From Valladolid Cazalla went to Alcalá de Henares, and having completed his studies there accepted a canonry at Salamanca. Becoming a pulpit orator, he could not but attract the eloquence-loving emperor, who took him to Germany, in 1545, as court preacher and almoner; there as a champion of Catholic orthodoxy he entered into controversy,

¹ 'Reformation in Spain,' 169. "Une petite Église évangélique se forma dans l'ombre; son premier pasteur fut un moine de ce même ordre auquel l'Espagne devait l'Inquisition, un dominicain, Domingo de Roxas, second fils du Marquis de Posa." St. Hilaire's 'Hist. d'Espagne,' viii. 84. The historian adds in a note "C'est ce Posa que Schiller a mis en scène dans son drame, un peu fantastique, de Don Carlos. Le héros de théâtre, l'apôtre *humanitaire*, n'est en réalité qu'un humble martyr chrétien, mort sur le bûcher, en 1559, dans le deuxième auto de fé qui eut lieu à Valladolid."

private and public, with German Reformers. The result of his disputations, however, was to bring him over to the side he opposed. Still he maintained a reputation for orthodoxy, and was nominated by his royal master as member of a committee of divines, to draw up an opinion upon the transference of the Trentine Council to the city of Bologna. Imperial favour for a time screened Cazalla from Church censures; but eventually his tendencies were detected by enemies, and he had to pay the penalty. Having returned to Spain, he for some time lived at Salamanca, where he corresponded with the Protestants at Seville; then, finding his chaplainship took him to Valladolid, where the court was resident, he determined to fix his abode in that town, still the capital of the Spanish dominions. We learn exactly very little of what he did for several years in relation to the controversies of the age. He evidently had no strength of will, like Martin Luther; none of the courage indispensable at a great crisis, where momentous interests quiver in the balance. He did not put his foot where the Saxon monk did, and say, "Here I take my stand. I can do no otherwise, God help me!"¹ M'Crie speaks of the Protestants at Valladolid as obtaining in Cazalla an instructor of great talents and reputation, presently adding that he continued to be regarded as a patron of the established faith, and was consulted by Churchmen in important questions. How these statements are to be reconciled I do not understand. The respected author adds: "In spite of the caution which Cazalla used, his real sentiments were discovered by the more intelligent of those who frequented the court; but they were unwilling to fix the stigma of heresy on a person of so great reputation, and could not permit themselves to believe that he would rush upon certain danger by transgressing the line of prudence which he appeared to have prescribed to himself. In this opinion they were deceived. After his settlement at Valla-

¹ 'Reformation in Spain,' 226.

dolid, a house connected with his family became an ordinary place for Protestant worship. The greater part of his relatives were among the members. He could not resist pressing requests to take charge of their spiritual interests; and, favoured with his talents and the authority of his name, they increased daily in numbers and respectability."¹ My remarks respecting Seville are applicable to Valladolid; and as to the authority of Cazalla's name, as though he were publicly known as a Protestant teacher, Llorente, who drew up from the records of the Inquisition an account on which the above representation is professedly based, plainly says, that when accused of dogmatising in the conventicle at Valladolid, and carrying on a correspondence with that of Seville, he denied the facts imputed to him, and confirmed his declaration in a manner the most solemn, even by taking an oath to that effect.² Cazalla afterwards avowed that, though he had been a Lutheran, he had not *dogmatised* on the subject, as he was charged with doing, nor had he indoctrinated others with his own views.

A brother of Cazalla, named Pedro, born at Valladolid, was curate of a parish in the diocese of Zomara. This young man, twenty-four years of age, avowed Lutheran opinions without any hesitation, explaining at the same time the motives and grounds of his belief.³ Besides these were two other Protestant members of the Vibero-Cazalla family, named Juan de Vibero and Francesco.

An elder Doña Leanor of the De Vibero family—who had died in 1524 in a state of relapse to Judaism, so it was said, she being a Jewess by birth—would have been disinterred at an early period, but for the interposition of relatives. Several of her children were Protestants, and this was deemed a conclusive proof of her being a heretic.

¹ 'Reformation in Spain,' 231.

² "Confirma par son serment," Llorente, ii. 222. We are dependent chiefly on Llorente for what we know of the Valladolid Reformers.

³ Ibid., 237.

Another Leonor, named Leonor de Cisneros, was discovered by the Inquisition to be a heretic ; so she and her husband, Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate in Leon, were shut up in the Valladolid prison, each in a separate cell. Of the high family named De Roxas, there were the following members who in Valladolid joined the Reformers ; Don Pedro Sarmiento and his wife ; Don Luis ; Doña Ana Henriquez ; and Doña Maria. Domingo de Roxas, as mentioned already, was a teacher in the congregation, and greatly promoted the cause by his activity and influence.¹

Don Carlos de Seso, an Italian by birth, who had rendered important services in the employ of the emperor, and who held the office of Corregidor, or Spanish magistrate, was also numbered amongst the Valladolid Reformers. He married Isabella Castella, daughter of a nobleman in whose veins flowed the blood of Pedro the Cruel ; and ere, in passing, I may remark that, whatever the paucity of details respecting these Protestants, we have ample notices of their dignified descent. After his marriage, De Seso took up his abode in Villamediana, near Logroño, and, according to the records of the Inquisition, diffused Lutheran heresies in Valladolid. We are informed that he promoted the Reformation by circulating books as well as by personal instruction.

Amongst ladies of the Spanish Reformation at Valladolid, there was Doña Ana Henriquez de Roxas, daughter of the Marquis d'Alcagnizes, and wife of Don Juan Alonso de Fonseca Mexia—a lady well skilled in Latin and familiar with the writings of John Calvin. Notice is taken also of her aunt, Doña Maria de Roxas, a nun in St. Catherine's Convent, Valladolid, who imbibed the Reformed faith. Doña Euphrosine Rios, Doña Marine de Guevara, Doña Catherine de Reinoso, Doña Marguerita de St. Etienne—I omit their pedigrees—nuns of different orders, were also on the

¹ Fernando de Roxas, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, and Francisco de Roxas about the middle of the sixteenth, were Spanish poets.

Protestant list.¹ They show what was going on in the convents, how light penetrated within the walls, and ladies, tired of ceremonialism, and praying for the Spirit of God, found guidance and instruction in the teaching of Reformers. Llorente adds one Jeanne Sanchez, of a class denominated in Spanish *Béates*, meaning a woman who wears a religious habit and engages in works of charity. By mockers the word was applied in the sense of religious hypocrite ; this good woman, accused of heresy, was like one of the French sisters of charity.

The archbishop of the province at length began to suspect that heresy was making way at Valladolid, and he encouraged there those whom he could trust to discover heretical offenders, and not to mind employing dissimulation for the purpose. An inhabitant of Zamora was denounced as a Lutheran, and sent to prison ; but he was allowed still to communicate with his associates, that evidence might be obtained respecting more culpable persons, who sought safety by leaving Spain. Several persons were arrested, Doctor Cazalla, and other members of his family ; Don Pedro Sarmiento and his wife, Doña Ana Henríquez ; Don Luis de Roxas, and other residents in Valladolid. Domingo de Roxas and Carlos de Seso tried to escape from impending danger by leaving the country and entering France, but their plans were frustrated, and at Logroño they were seized and sent to Valladolid under an escort of arquebusiers. On their journey, men, women and children rushed out of their houses to see the heretics going to prison, whence it was certain they would be led to the stake ; and such was the popular indignation against Protestants, that the recovered fugitives were brought within the gates of Valladolid by night, lest a mob should gather together and stone them.²

¹ Llorente, ii. 240. I give the names as he does.

² 'Rapport de Vazquez à l'Empereur,' Droin, ii. 202 ; Appendix. Compare this with the case of Juan de Leon and Juan Fernández (or Juan Sanches), related in the chapter on Seville, p. 160.

A fact in relation to this part of the subject may be referred to before going further. Unselfish bigotry, a misguided conscience, blind hatred of error, the idea that by persecution people could do God service, might seem at first sight the only motive prompting to such cruel proceedings; in some cases it may be hoped personal compassion mingled with what was thought to be only salutary justice. But it must be recollected confiscation of property followed condemnation for heresy. Wealth so forfeited was designed to flow into the royal exchequer, but first a stream was drawn off to pay the salaries of officials and other expenses; moreover, we learn "that those who confessed and sought absolution within the brief term of grace allowed by the Inquisitors from the publication of their edict, were liable to arbitrary fines; and those who confessed after that period escaped with nothing short of confiscation."¹

Previous to an account of what followed the apprehension of several Protestants at Valladolid, I cannot help referring to Luis Ponce de Leon, who was connected with that city, and who occupies a conspicuous place amongst Spanish poets. Bouterwek thinks he had never been surpassed in the literature of his country. Hallam follows the German critic, and adopts his eulogy. Sismondi declares that he is the last of the great poets who rendered illustrious the age in which he lived; and Ticknor, well qualified to form an independent judgment, describes him as "a poet of no common genius."² He was born in 1528, and died in 1591. But he was more than a poet. Being an accomplished divine for that age, he occupied a theological chair at Salamanca; probably his reputation created enemies, and having provoked

¹ Prescott's 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' i. 269. Confirmed by Llorente, i. 176, 177.

² Bouterwek's 'History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature,' i. 240. Hallam's 'Introduction to Literature of Europe,' ii. 279. Sismondi's 'Literature of Europe,' ii. 209. Ticknor's 'Spanish Literature,' ii. 85.

members of the Dominican order, they charged him with deviations from the Catholic faith. He had translated Solomon's Song, and treated it as an eclogue; he had spoken of the Vulgate as open to improvement; he had interpreted the Old Testament, not after the manner of the schoolmen, but as a skilled Hebrew scholar; and he had adopted opinions which his accusers said leaned in a Lutheran direction. He was denounced before the Holy Office in 1571. Twenty witnesses sent in what we might call affidavits against him; and they are preserved in the National Library of Madrid, with other documents relating to his trial, filling altogether more than nine hundred pages. He was brought before the tribunal at Valladolid, and confined in its secret prisons (*carceles secretas*), being denied not only the use of paper without formal permission from his judges, but also the use of a knife to cut his food. Moreover, he says himself that for the space of five years he was kept in solitary confinement, and not permitted to see the light of day. Judgment was pronounced by four judges to the effect that he should be put to the rack, but moderately, because of his health—and by two others, that he should be rebuked in the hall of the Inquisition, and be made to confess before his university; that propositions he had advanced were "suspicious and ambiguous," and finally that he should be suspended from public teaching. Strange to say, the Supreme Council at Madrid passed over in silence the proceedings at Valladolid, and acquitted the prisoner, only counselling him to be prudent for the future, and to suppress his translation of Solomon's Song, which he affirmed he had made for the private use of a friend. He quietly submitted, showing how an active mind like his could at that age, and in that country, throw aside a sense of personal responsibility, and blindly accept the judgment of a despotic court.¹

¹ A full account of Luis de Leon is given by Ticknor, ii. 74-89; based upon an examination of the 'Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Hist. de España,' tom. x. xi.

In 1580 he published his Commentary on the Canticles, in which he followed the method of exposition approved by the Fathers, treating the book literally, symbolically, and mystically ; so that, whilst saving its character as an eclogue, he found in it doctrines harmonising with the Church's creed. An extensive work on the names of Christ proceeded from his pen, in which he devoutly meditates on our blessed Lord as the Shepherd and King of His people, rising occasionally to a strain of lofty eloquence, and dwelling upon the harmony of creation, after a manner which strongly resembles the immortal sentence of Richard Hooker on the subject of Divine Law.¹

His poetry took a religious form, and he exclaims, " Would to God that no other poetry were ever sounded in our ears ; that only those sacred tones were sweet to us ; that none else were heard at night in the streets and public squares ; that the child might still lisp it, the retired damsel find in it her best solace, and the industrious tradesman make it the relief of his toil. But the Christian name is now sunk to such immodest and reckless degradation, that we set our sins to music, and, not content with indulging them in secret, shout them joyfully forth to all who will listen." Evidently he disapproved of the immoralities countenanced in the literature of his country, and aimed at a spiritual reformation in this respect. His hymn on the Ascension is affecting, but it wants faith in the " Comforter."

And dost Thou holy Shepherd, leave
Thine unprotected flock alone,
Here in this darksome vale, to grieve,
While Thou ascend'st Thy glorious throne ?

Oh, where can they their hopes now turn,
Who never lived but on Thy love ?
Where rest the hearts for Thee that burn,
When Thou art lost in light above ?

¹ 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' close of Book I.

How shall those eyes now find repose
That turn, in vain, Thy smile to see?
What can they hear save mortal woes,
Who love Thy voice's melody?

And who shall lay his tranquil hand
Upon the troubled ocean's might?
Who hush the winds by his command?
Who guide us through this starless night?

For Thou art gone !—that cloud so bright,
That bears Thee from our love away,
Springs upwards through the dazzling light,
And leaves us here to weep and pray!¹

Luis de Leon confined his prose writing exclusively to spiritual subjects, and his sermons are "invariably mentioned in terms of praise by Spanish writers, whenever they allude to the theological literature of their country."²

Yet this was a man whom Inquisitors punished as a heretic, and shut him up in darkness for five long years!

The Plaza Mayor is in the heart of Valladolid, an open space surrounded by shops under colonnades unworthy of note, one side opening into a smaller square. Grand spectacles, bull-fights and the like, here took place; and when Valladolid was the seat of royalty I should suppose it exhibited a very different appearance from what it does now.

In this square, two *autos* were held—one on the 21st of May, 1559, the other on the 28th of October the same year. I may mention that a fire in 1561 destroyed a large portion of the neigh-

¹ Ticknor, ii. 88.

² Bouterwek, ii. 253. Hallam ('Int. to Literature of Europe,' ii. 278) says, "The best lyric poet of Spain, in the opinion of many, with whom I venture to concur, was Fra Luis Ponce de Leon." If it be not presumptuous, I would say that in this opinion I unite, so far as a limited knowledge of the history of Spanish literature, chiefly founded on the study of Bouterwek, Sismondi, and Ticknor, enables me to judge.

bourhood.¹ On the first of these occasions now mentioned, Don Carlos, son of Philip II., Prince of Asturias, heir to the throne, together with his aunt, the king's sister, appeared on the Plaza Mayor in state amidst a blaze of Spanish grandeur, accompanied by nobles and ladies of the highest rank. On the second occasion, Philip himself, just arrived in the dominions he inherited from his father, who had recently died at Yuste, gave additional splendour to the scene, in this the city of his birth, for he entered the world in a palace opposite San Pablo. To prevent revolting repetition I shall only describe the victims at the first *auto*, reserving an account of the whole ceremony for what I have to say of the second. The names of certain Valladolid Protestants have been given. Some of them were now amongst the condemned. The mother of the Viberos was dead, but that did not release her from the power of the Holy Office. An effigy had been placed upon a large deal box, and brought out into public view. The effigy represented the lady, the box contained her remains, for she was disinterred at last. As she herself was happily beyond the reach of human tormentors, vengeance could be wrought only upon the insensate clay which was wrapped in its winding-sheet. The corpse was flung into the flames. Members of her family still living were doomed to share in the penalty. Doctor Cazalla—related to the family, and teacher of the Protestants at Valladolid—with limbs dislocated by the rack, and crushed with terror, recanted at first, buoyed up with the hope of life, but like Archbishop Cranmer, he found no escape at the last moment. The night before his execution a monk acquainted him with the final sentence. "Well then," said the condemned one, according to some authorities, when all prospect of life vanished, "I must prepare to die in the grace of God ; for it is impossible for me to add to what I have said without falsehood." Yet, at the last moment, it is said

¹ The marriage of Philip II. and Isabel of France did not take place until after these *autos*.

by others, he did not break with the Church of Rome. He professed himself a penitent, received absolution, and in return secured the miserable benefit of being strangled before being burnt. His confessor was so pleased that he said he had no doubt Cazalla had gone to heaven.¹

There is a street in Valladolid still known as Calle del Doctor Cazalla—the street of Doctor Cazalla; once it bore the name Calle del Rotulo de Cazalla, the street of Cazalla's label, or infamous inscription, a building situated in that street being pulled down, and the spot strewn with salt; a marble column was erected over it bearing this inscription—

Presi-
diendo la pgle.^a
Roma^a Paulo IV. y Rei
nando en Espa^a Phelip II.

El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición condeno A derrocar e asolar estas Casas de Pedro de Cazalla y Do^a Leonor de Vibero su Muger porque los hereges Luteranos se juntaban a acer conciliabulos contra nra Sta fee cha^a e ygla Roma^a Año de MDLIX., en XXI. de Mayo.

TRANSLATION.—Paul IV. presiding in the Roman Church, and Philip II. reigning over Spain. The Holy Office of the Inquisition condemned these houses of Pedro de Cazalla, and Doña Leonor de Vibero his wife, to be demolished and razed, because the Lutheran heretics assembled here in Conventicle against our holy Catholic faith and the Roman Church. In the year 1559, on the 21st of May.

The column with its inscription was seen in the seventeenth century by Fernando Texeda, of whom I shall have to speak in the last chapter upon Spanish exiles, and in the eighteenth century by Llorente; in the present century Mr. Wiffen saw it in 1826, "the characters," he says, "though engraved in marble, were almost ob-

¹ The accounts of Dr. Cazalla's death are conflicting. I am unable to determine which is most accurate.

literated by time.”¹ The column was removed under the regency of Espartero.

On comparing the inscription with the story told by Llorente and others, it should be remembered that they speak of *Augustino* Cazalla as Doctor Cazalla; but the Cazalla in the inscription is Pedro Cazalla, and Doña Leonor de Vibero; they were the parents of Doctor Augustino Cazalla. The inscription relates only to the place or places of meeting—the houses of Pedro de Cazalla and Doña Leonor de Vibero, whence the street appears to have been originally named *Calle del Rotulo de Cazalla*, not *Calle del Doctor Cazalla*. The connection of it with Dr. *Augustino* Cazalla seems to be a popular mistake. It was the residence of Pedro *not Augustino* Cazalla; but there can be no doubt the latter officiated within the walls of his father and mother’s residence in religious service.

Francisco de Vibero Cazalla, who had been a parish priest, was another of the victims in the first of these *autos*. His tongue was pierced with a piece of wood, so that he could not speak, but he “remained constant in the open profession of his faith.”² Antonio Herezuelo also behaved heroically. Neither torture nor the foresight of fire moved him in the least. The only thing he felt was the sight of his wife dressed as a penitent, implying that she recanted. But though reconciled and only imprisoned in 1559, she openly confessed herself a Protestant, and was burnt in 1568. “The parting look of her husband never departed from her eyes.”³ Pedro Cazalla, brother of Augustino, was burnt, as we shall see, at the second *auto* in October, 1559.

Altogether the sufferers at this first *auto* were thirty in number; sixteen were reconciled, but imprisoned; fourteen were burnt—two alive, the rest after strangulation. The two who

¹ Preface to ‘*Epistola Consolatoria*,’ by Juan Perez.

² Register appended to Skinner’s translation of Montanus. See also Llorente, ii.

³ M’Crie, 290.

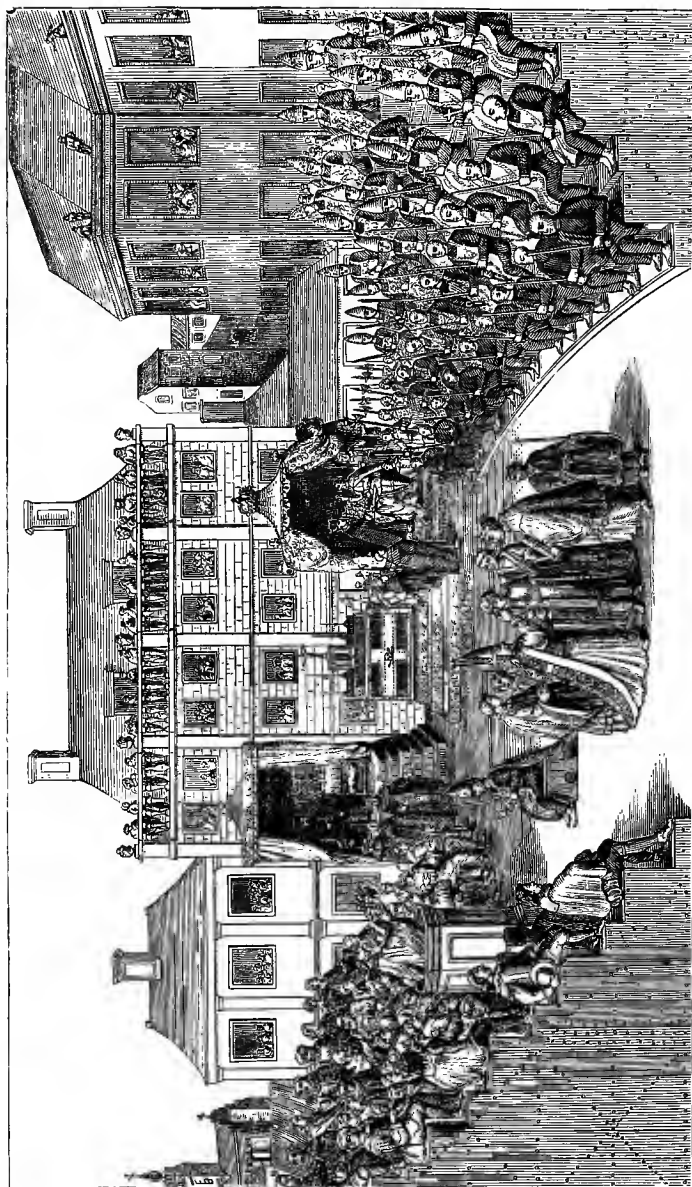
felt the fire were Antonio Herezuelo and Francisco de Vibero Cazalla.

The second *auto* was a grander occasion than the first, and occurred, as I have said, on the 28th of October, 1559.

It began in the same square. A platform stood at one end covered with rich carpets and decked with the Inquisition's heraldic arms ; close by was a royal gallery, adorned, one may suppose, with plenty of colour gilding and upholstery, for the delight of Spanish eyes. A private entrance led to these reserved seats. A large scaffold was erected opposite, where the condemned were to take their place. At six o'clock in the morning, the city bells began to toll, and a procession moved from the Holy Office in solemn state, under the gaze of multitudes who could get near enough to see anything. Soldiers rode or walked in front. Next followed prisoners, first penitents who escaped death, next those who were doomed to die. The former were bareheaded and wore a mantle marked by a St. Andrew cross ; the second had mantles shaped like the first, but marked with detestable devices.¹

Then followed the magistrates of the city in municipal robes, the judges of the court in judicial costume, a train of dignitaries and common priests in distinguishing vestments, and next a number of knights on horseback in glittering armour. Robed officers of the Inquisition had a standard of crimson damask borne before them, displaying on its folds the arms of the Institution, and those of Sixtus the Fifth, and Ferdinand of Aragon. Familiars, subordinate officials, followed on horseback, accompanied by gentlemen proud to show their loyalty to the Church. Behind pressed a motley crowd—and at this ceremony as many as 200,000² are reported to have been present. An altar with a green cross upon it had chairs on each side, where the secretaries sat. The Inquisitors took their appointed seats ; the prisoners were conducted to a stage consisting of several tiers of forms narrowing in length one above

¹ See page 157 of this Volume, chapter on Seville. ² No doubt an exaggeration.



AN AUTO DE FÉ.

another. The royal box, opposite to that of the Inquisitors, was filled. There sat Philip II., a widower, about to be married early the next year to Isabella of France. Whether dressed in armour, as in some of his portraits, or in gorgeous apparel, I do not know, but the man himself is visible ; his face reveals his character, cold, clever, cunning, no traits of goodness, a grizzly moustache and beard harmonising with a mouth marked by cruel decision. His family were with him, including his sister, Margaret of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V., Regent of the Netherlands, a masculine woman, to whom nature had given something of a beard ; Philip's son, Don Carlos, whose history is mysterious, and his nephew Alexander Farnese. In attendance, of course, were many prelates and nobles of high rank. Foreign ambassadors were also present.

Autos took place on Sundays and holy days only ; and, to stamp them with the more sanctity, the pope proclaimed an indulgence of forty days to all who attended them. Sermons were preached on these occasions ; and at the one now described, the Bishop of Zanoia, some say the Bishop of Cuenca, officiated. When he had concluded his discourse, he administered an oath to the people in general, all bending down upon their knees. Philip rose from his throne, drew his sword, as champion of the Holy Office, and then took the oath administered to him by the Grand Inquisitor. "Your majesty," said the latter, "swears by the cross of the sword whereon your royal hand reposes, that you will give all necessary favour to the Holy Office of the Inquisition against heretics, apostates, and those who favour them, and will denounce and inform against all those who to your royal knowledge shall act or speak against the faith."

Philip answered, "I swear it."

Then sentences on the prisoners were read, upon which penitents, who desired reconciliation, abjured their errors and were sent back to prison. The steadfast, who were death-doomed, had ropes put round their necks, and, holding inverted torches, were handed

over to the secular power. The Church would not shed blood, would not kindle flames; the State was to do that sort of work; and as the Grand Inquisitor committed his victims to the Corregidor of the city, he besought him to show *all kindness and mercy!*

There were thirty convicts this time—sixteen reconciled, fourteen to be executed.

The scene of execution was not the Plaza Mayor. It was somewhere outside the walls, on the Campo Grande.

The procession attendant on those who were now to be sacrificed moved to the Quemadero, or burning-place. Whether Philip and the court accompanied them is uncertain. One authority says that the king witnessed the execution from a window, heard the dying martyrs' cry, and enjoyed the spectacle; but this account is not confirmed by another, who simply speaks of his assisting at the *auto*, which was performed on the Plaza Mayor.¹

Don Carlos de Seso, so zealous and active in the cause of the Reformation, stood at the head of the martyrs in October, 1559. When he had been tried and condemned, he called for pen and ink, and wrote as follows, "This is the true faith of the Gospel as opposed to the Church of Rome, which has been corrupted for ages. In this faith I wish to die, and in remembrance and lively belief of the passion of Jesus Christ, to offer to God my body now, reduced so low." Then he added a confession of Reformed doctrines upon two sheets of paper: "penned with uncommon vigour," says Llorente, who found the document in the Archives of the Inquisition. When the gag De Seso wore on his way from the Plaza Mayor was removed at the stake, he exclaimed, as the friars besought him to confess, "I could demonstrate to you that you ruin yourselves by not imitating my example; but there is no time. Executioners, light the pile that

¹ Cited by M'Crie, 297.

is to consume me.”¹ Domingo de Roxas, after some little vacillation, under torture, exclaimed, on his way to the pyre in the Campo Grande, that he was ready to die for the defence of the Gospel as taught by Luther. The records of the Inquisition say that at the last moment he begged for a confessor, and having received absolution was strangled: but Sepulveda, in his ‘History of Philip II,’ states that De Roxas was one of those “who were thrown alive into the flames because they persevered in error.”² An awful story is told of Juan Sachez, who leaped out of the flames, and then, witnessing the heroism of De Seso, walked back, saying he would die with him. Domingo Sanchez, a converted priest, remained constant to the last. Pedro de Sotelo was burnt after being strangled. Pedro de Cazalla, refusing to make confession at the *auto*, was gagged; but at the stake, a confessor regarding him as penitent, caused him to be strangled.

Doña Emphrosene Rios, Doña Catalina de Reinoso, both of them already mentioned, together with Doña Marina de Guevara, sister in a Valladolid convent, were all burnt after strangulation. Doña Marina Guevara, who had embraced Protestant doctrine, after protracted examination showed pre-eminent magnanimity.

Sixteen victims were reconciled at the *auto de fé* of May, 1569:

¹ Llorente, ii. 237. It is said by Colmenares, in his ‘Historia de Segovia,’ quoted by Puiblanck, that Don Carlos de Seso reproached Philip on his way to execution; and the same story is told of De Roxas. M’Crie urges that De Seso wore a gag, and that the story is not true of him, but that it is of De Roxas. At all events, this is true, that one of the martyrs did appeal to the monarch, and that his Majesty replied, “Yo traere la leña para quemar á mi hijo, si fuere tan malo come vos.” “I would carry the fagots for the burning of my own son, if he were as bad as you.” In the funeral sermon for Philip II. by Augustus Davila, he quotes the very words, as a “famosa sentencia” (‘Sermones Funerales en las Honras de Felipe II.’; see Ticknor, iii. 236). This seems to have been a royal mode of expression, as will appear when I have to speak of the descendants of Philip II. in the chapter on Madrid.

² Llorente, ii. 239. ‘De Rebus gestis Philippi II.,’ lib. ii., cap. xxvii.; quoted by M’Crie, 297.

and therefore were not delivered over to "the secular arm," as the executors of a capital sentence were termed.¹

The sternness of Philip on the horrid occasion now described, the absence of all pity, as he saw the victims of intolerance on the way to execution, was no exceptional fact in his history, but of a piece with his whole character and the general tone and spirit of his reign. His treatment of heretics was in terrible harmony with his conduct towards the unhappy Moriscos, and his desire to root them out of the land for evermore. Their rebellion in Granada, and the cruelties they inflicted upon their foes, inspire our indignation; but we must remember it was provoked by the previous tormenting policy of the sovereign towards a race that had done more for the civilization of Spain, more for its magnificence and wealth than he and his government had ever attempted.

The burnings at Valladolid were not all over when the *autos* of 1559 came to an end. Cypriana de Valera, in his 'Tractado de los Papas,' relates a story which seems incredible but for the infuriated detestation of Protestantism cherished by Spaniards. He actually tells us that a father denounced his two daughters

¹ De Castro gives a list of thirteen distinguished persons at Valladolid who were branded with infamy, and lost their possessions :—

Don Pedro Sarmiento de Rojas.

Don Luis de Rojas.

Doña Mencia de Figueroa.

Doña Ana Henriquez de Rojas.

Doña María de Rojas.

Doña Zuniga de Baeza.

Doña Constanza de Verbero Cazalla.

Don Juan de Vibero Cazalla.

Doña Juana Silva de Ribera.

Isabel Minguez.

Anton Minguez.

Daniel de la Cuadra.

Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira.

Several of these noble persons are described as wearing the *sanbenito*.

as heretics, and caused them to be shut up in the dungeons of the Inquisition—that he adopted all sorts of new expedients to restore them to a confession of Catholic faith—and that as they persevered in their Evangelical convictions, they were left in the hands of the odious tribunal, which condemned them to perish on the funeral pyre. The parent is represented as being such a monster, that he cut fagots from a forest on his estate, and brought them to the stake with his own hands.¹

Llorente makes no mention of this terrific incident, but he refers to an *auto* in June, 1636, when twenty-eight were condemned, including Jews, rogues, sorcerers, bigamists and blasphemers. No Protestants are mentioned as being amongst them,² nor does it appear that the condemned were burnt. Peculiar punishment was inflicted on Jews; they, like the Moriscos, were objects of special hatred to the Spanish people. Antipathies arising out of a difference of race were added to those which sprang from a difference of religion; but, whilst we condemn the Spanish for their cruel oppression, we must not forget what our forefathers did in the days of Edward I., when five hundred Jews were massacred, and the Old Jewry was burnt to ashes.

Besides those who died at the stake others were punished in different ways. Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, Commendator of the Order of St. John at Jerusalem, was condemned, by the benignity of his judges, to perpetual imprisonment, with a confiscation of his property, the loss of his dignities, and the infamy of his name; but, by the intercession of friends, and the pope's favour, the severity of his sentence was mitigated.³

Seville and Valladolid may be described as the head-quarters

¹ 'Dos Tractados del Papa i de la Misa,' etc., reprinted in vol. viii. of the 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.'

² Llorente, iii. 466. He describes amongst the condemned, a nun of St. Catherine, who seems to have been crazy.

³ Llorente, ii. 230.

of the Spanish Reformation. Nowhere else did it strike its roots so deeply into the soil, chiefly, however, amongst the upper classes, the cultivated and the refined; but elsewhere its principles were diffused, and the effect is testified by contemporaries, friendly and inimical. "A great number of persons belonging to the nobility," says the Protestant Cyprian de Valera, "were condemned in Spain on account of religion. There was scarcely a town or a village or a distinguished family that did not include one or more who were enlightened by the Gospel."¹ "In former times," says a Roman Catholic historian, "the heretics imprisoned and burnt were foreigners of low condition, but now-a-days those who are of lofty rank and are superior for knowledge and virtue fill the prisons and die in the flames. Their names should be respected for the sake of their ancestry; and no ignominy should attach to the illustrious houses of which they were members. The number of them was so great that if a remedy had been deferred much longer, all Spain would have been on fire."²

In concluding this chapter I may remark, that with these proceedings of the Inquisition Bouterwek connects the literature of the drama in Spain. Speaking of the tragedy of 'Nise Laureada,' based on the melancholy story of Inez de Castro, he says, "The first act contains many beautiful passages, but when the last judicial ceremonies commence, horror and disgust fill the mind of the reader. The hearts of both culprits (Inez's murderers) are extracted from their bodies, the one through the breast, the other through the back. The most brutal exclamations accompany the execution of the royal sentence; and the chorus utters shouts of joy while the executioner discharges his barbarous task. That these horrors might be regarded as pathetic incidents by the Spaniards of that age—accustomed as they were from early childhood to stifle every sentiment of humanity, and to allow fanatical

¹ Valera's 'Preface to the Bible.' This appears to me an exaggerated statement.

² Gonzales de Illescas, 'Hist. Pontifical y Católica.' Madrid, 1552. Cited by Castro.

exultation to overcome the natural emotions of the heart, whenever a brutal sentence was performed by ecclesiastical or royal authority—is unfortunately but too probable. Had it not been for this perversion of feeling, a people otherwise so noble-minded could not have attended the cruel festivals of their Church, and witnessed the burning of Jews and heretics with as much pleasure as the exhibition of a bull-fight.”¹

¹ ‘History of Spanish Literature,’ i. 302.

CHAPTER XII.

MADRID AND THE ESCORIAL.

IT is now time to enter Madrid, and to tarry there awhile. It is the centre from which we have made our historical excursions, so as to disturb the chronological order of events as little as possible. We have diverged considerably to the north, that due notice might be taken of important incidents at Valladolid, which, next to Seville, was the main scene of Reformatory achievements and of patient suffering. It was not until after the great *auto* of 1559, that Philip II., as King of Spain, took up his abode first at Madrid, and then at the Escorial, where we are presently to trace his sanguinary career as the desperate antagonist of the Reformation. The choice of such spots for his abode is the wonder of most visitors, when they reflect on their dreary surroundings, and feel the cutting winds which sweep through their thoroughfares and their courts; yet these circumstances do but accord with what we know of the monarch's disposition and cruel temper.

Charles V., his father, allowed Madrid, in 1554, to emblazon a crown on its escutcheon; whence it obtained the title of *Imperial y Coronada*. Alonso Nuñez de Castro, in 1658, proclaimed its glories in a book entitled 'Solo Madrid es Corte'—"The display in it of the wealth of the hierarchy, and of some of the great military orders, may well be called astounding."¹

The present Royal Palace was begun by Philip V. in 1737, and

¹ Ticknor, ii. 295.

therefore does not connect itself with what was going on in the sixteenth century, except that on the same site a royal residence existed, reaching back to Moorish times; for it is said that the original outpost of the Moorish dominion stood on the spot, and was occupied by Enrique IV. Whatever might be the building in Philip II.'s time, so much of it as remained in 1734 was burnt down by a fire on Christmas Eve, when the sovereign determined on an entirely new structure which was to rival Versailles. But he could not fully carry out his intention, and had to satisfy himself with a smaller and less expensive edifice.

Philip II. removed the court from Valladolid to Madrid, and resided here more or less, especially on state occasions, for several years.

Autos for the burning of Protestants did not take place in Madrid under Philip II., for the simple reason that during this early period of the city's history no such persons were found within its walls; so effectual did his repressive policy prove, so entirely did he succeed, between 1559 and 1570, in stamping out within the neighbourhood of his palace all sparks of disaffection to the majesty of the Church. There are, however, traces of the struggle then going on, visible in other things than blazing pyres and dark prisons. In the departments of Art and Literature they are manifest. Signs of Inquisitorial influence on the art of Spain can be discerned in the enormous and bewildering picture gallery of Madrid, especially if we take with us into the magnificent rooms the 'Handbook of Painting' for the Spanish schools, edited by Sir Edmund Head. From that book curious lights will fall on the pictures touching the subject to which I now refer. Roman Catholicism has tinged much of the canvas with colours of its own. "The prevailing tone of Spanish pictures is one of gloom and severity," "the whole result expresses the characteristic spirit of Spanish religion, which united the gloom of St. Dominic with the mystical fervour of St. Ignatius or St. Teresa. Tendencies opposed to the Roman Catholic Church

were kept down by the constant pressure of the *one Spanish Institution*—the Inquisition. I say the *one Spanish Institution*, because it was the single common bond, I think, which united into one monarchy all the scattered kingdoms and lordships which make up Spain." "The zeal for purity of doctrine was maintained at such a pitch that the royal authority found little difficulty in carrying out at once its own interests and those of the Church." These sharp-sighted remarks are fully borne out by the civil and ecclesiastical annals of the country.

A singular example of the influence of the Church, through the medium of the Holy Office and of the Jesuit Society, is afforded in the observation on painting by Pacheco: "It will not appear alien from my profession to point out to Christian painters the method which they ought to pursue, more especially since I find myself honoured with a particular commission from the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, to denounce the errors committed in pictures of this class by the ignorance or the wickedness of artists." Pacheco cites the authority of the Holy Office to this effect: "If I find anything to object to, I am to take the pictures before my lords the Inquisitors, in order that they, having seen them, may take such order as may be fitting therein."

Art was in bondage to the Inquisition—so was literature. Permission to publish books had to be sought from the Holy Office, or an immense deal of trouble and suffering fell to the lot of the author. That Office persecuted even Roman Catholics. It would be a great mistake to suppose that no piety existed in the Spanish Church, and that no devout books issued from the Spanish press; but every volume, to secure wide circulation, needed the Inquisition's imprimatur.

Juán de Avila, Luis de Leon, Luis de Granada, Quevedo, San Juan de la Cruz, and Santa Teresa, and others of the same class, were tormented by the Holy Fathers, through expurgations and prohibitions which issued from that quarter. Popular writers not

only submitted to this authority, but supported and promoted it. Lope de Vega¹ was himself one of the familiars, and Cervantes joined a religious brotherhood in alliance with the "one Spanish Institution."

Most affecting is it to read what Ticknor, well qualified to speak on the subject, has said in his 'History of Spanish Literature.'

"The great purpose, therefore, of the government and the Inquisition may be considered as having been fulfilled in the latter part of the reign of Philip II., further, at least, than such a purpose was ever fulfilled in any other Christian country, and further than it is ever likely to be again fulfilled elsewhere. The Spanish nation was then become, in the sense they themselves gave to the term, the most thoroughly religious nation in Europe; a fact signally illustrated in their own eyes a few years afterward, when it was deemed desirable to expel the remains of the Moorish race from the Peninsula, and 600,000 peaceable and industrious subjects were, from religious bigotry, cruelly driven out of their native country, amidst the devout exultation of the kingdom—Cervantes, Lope de

¹ As an illustration of the better side of this poet, read the following—translated by Longfellow.

Lord, what am I, that with unceasing care,
Thou dost seek after me—that Thou didst wait,
Wet with unhealthy dews before my gate,
And pass the gloomy nights of winter there?
O strange delusion! that I did not greet
Thy blest approach, and oh to heaven how lost,
If my ingratitude's unkindly frost
Has chilled the bleeding wounds upon Thy feet.
How oft my guardian angel gently cried,
"Soul, from thy casement look, and thou shalt see
How He persists to knock and wait for thee!"
And oh, how often to that voice of sorrow,
"To-morrow we will open," I replied,
And when to-morrow came, I answered still, "To-morrow."

Vega, and others of the principal men of genius then alive, joining in the general jubilee.”¹

The literary consequences of the suppression of Protestantism in Spain, the degradation entailed upon the generality of authors, and the wretched taste perpetuated amongst the people, show what the result of a like suppression would have been in England. Can we, looking at the story of Spain, believe that if the policy of Philip and Mary had been continued in this country ; that if the Queen of Scots had ascended the English throne with a strong popish party at her back ; that if fires in England had continued to burn as they did in Spain ; or that, failing all this, if the Armada had done for England what Philip earnestly desired, the current of our glorious literature could have been what it is ? If the Holy Office could have established itself in London, if books could not have been printed without the imprimatur of the Inquisition, where would have been Hooker's ‘*Ecclesiastical Polity*,’ where would have been the writings of Shakespeare, where would have been Bacon's ‘*Novum Organum*’ ?

Queen Elizabeth, in 1567, had trouble with her brother in Spain, as she was wont to call him. The English ambassador at Philip's court had English worship in his house at Madrid ; but he was forbidden to continue the practice, and his servants were compelled to attend mass.

She wrote in consequence to the Spanish ambassador after the following manner : “ That since his servant's coming, she had understood a matter very strange unto her, and not to be suffered : which was, that all his household, being her natural subjects (his own person only excepted), did resort to the common services of the churches there, contrary to her laws and ordinances ; and were not only compelled, but also by fear restrained from the exercise of any common or private Divine service within his own house, agreeable to her laws. That she found this matter so inconvenient, as, considering what impunity and privilege the King of Spain's ambas-

¹ ‘*History of Spanish Literature*,’ i. 428.

sador had here for his own servants (which also some thought he enlarged, to serve the appetites of others) was not allowable. That she thought meet to declare unto him, the said Spanish ambassador, her great disliking hereof; and had required him to impart to the king, her good brother, this misusage of the privilege that belonged to him, as her ambassador, and to procure the speedy remedy thereof. For otherwise she would not with such an inequality suffer her minister to reside there."¹

The Spanish ambassador professed to be ignorant of this usage, and promised to write on the subject to his royal master. The queen required that a remedy should be provided for the injustice done, threatening to recall her own ambassador, if he were not allowed the same liberty of worship in Madrid as she granted to the Spanish ambassador in London.²

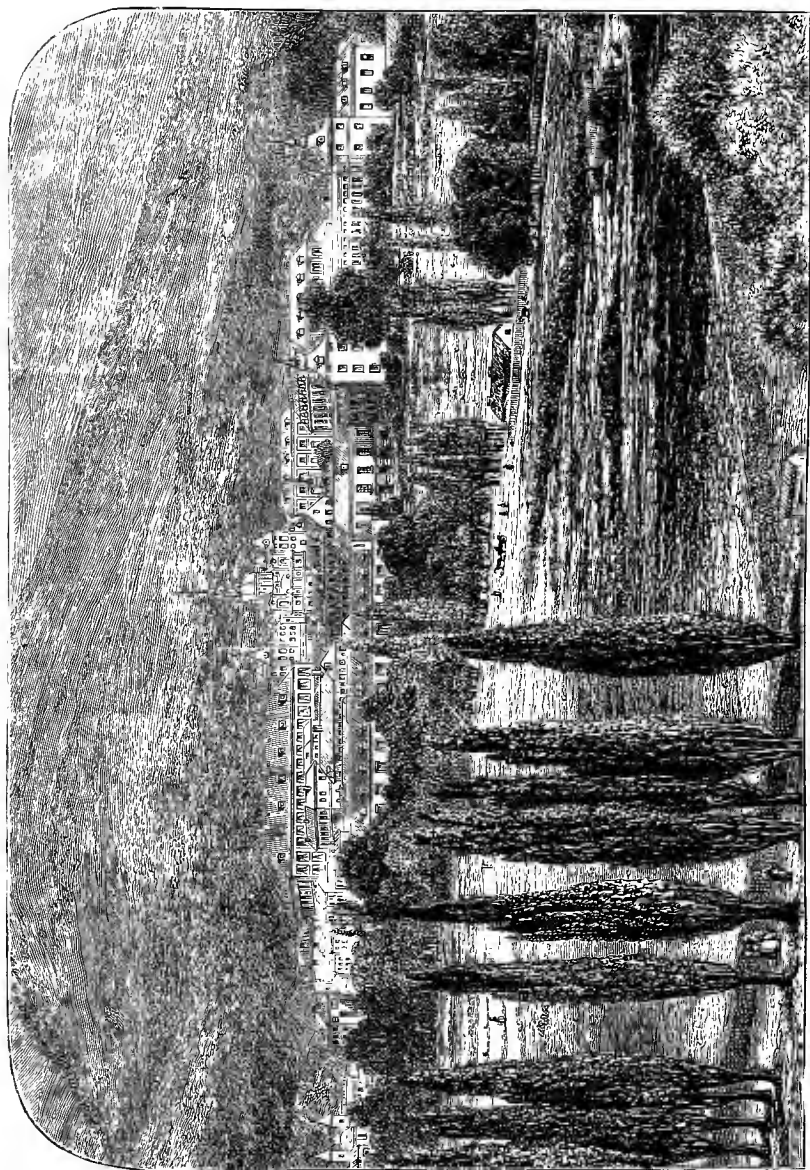
After a faithful description has been given of persecutions in Spain between 1559 and 1570; when Protestantism is seen almost extinguished to the south of the Pyrenees, a light broader and more intense falls on the general subject before us, when we turn to look at the steady and persistent policy which Philip II. pursued towards the Reformed faith of the Netherlands.

The king's home may be said to have been at Madrid from his accession till he removed to the Escorial in 1577; and from 1559—when the fires were kindled in the campos of Valladolid and Seville, until his removal to an abode which was at once a palace and a convent—his busy brain tasked itself day and night to stay the flood which kept rising higher and higher all over the Low Countries.

¹ 'Styrye's Annals,' i. 543.

² In the Catalogue of Spanish MSS. in the British Museum, there is notice of much MS. correspondence respecting affairs of the Inquisition, and special mention is made of letters and papers relating to the case of Richard Rolls and Edward Squier, Englishmen converted to Romanism, and who being secluded in a convent made their escape, with the petition of the said Englishmen to be allowed to return to England, May, June, 1597.

One of the first things he did was to revive an earlier edict forbidding anyone to print, copy, sell, buy or *conceal* any book by Martin Luther, or any other heretic, which the Church had repudiated ; or to injure holy images, or attend conventicles, or dispute concerning Scripture, or entertain heretical opinions ; so minute were the meshes of the drag-net, that it firmly held within its compass every one caught, however small his religious offence might happen to be. Sword and fire were threatened against every man, and burial alive against every woman, convicted of disaffection to the Church, she being represented as the loving mother of them all. To help on the conversion of heretics, new bishops and Inquisitors were appointed, and additional armed forces were levied and sent out to back these spiritual endeavours. The bow was bent till it broke. In 1562 two victims were about to be offered in the market-place of Brussels. One of them exclaimed, "O Eternal Father !" when a multitude of spectators—unlike those in Spain, being men and women in sympathy with the sufferers—dashed against the barriers round the pyre, and seizing the blazing brands wildly flung them in all directions, and put a stop to the burning for that day. People chanting psalms went about the streets, encouraging their neighbours to assail with vigour this accursed despotism. The prisoners escaped, and the crisis was named *the day of the ill burning*. A civil war ensued. Battle after battle was fought. Siege after siege was laid ; Philip's soldiers were repulsed at Bois-le-duc ; Antwerp was saved by the Prince of Orange ; the Duke of Alva appeared on the field ; then naval forces were raised by patriot Protestants. Leyden stood out heroically against Spain, and in the last extremity, the Prince of Orange came to the rescue, opened the dykes, raised the sluices, and swept away the enemy's camp. Then came the Pacification of Ghent, followed by the government of John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, who failed to reduce the country again under Spanish sway. The people were resolved on breaking the tyrant's yoke, and they did it effectually,



raising out of a miserable Spanish province the noble republic of the European United Provinces.

All this—from year to year, from month to month, from day to day, down to 1577—Philip, from his palace in Madrid, watched with calmness and inflexibility, never desponding, hopeful to the last, though final defeat was not far off.

Some time before that came, he moved to his new convent palace, there to prolong operations upon the Netherlands, and to commence others against England as well.

We must visit the Escorial.

The situation of the Escorial is wild and desolate—a vast expanse of rocky undulations, scarcely to be called mountainous, except in the distance, where snow-streaked sierras send cutting blasts over the slate roofs and against the grey stone walls: the building itself looks like a manufactory, at best like spacious barracks, one may think it something between a prison and a convent—or rather a combination of the two; at any rate, its cold, stern, repulsive exterior is a fair type of the builder's character and influence. The only objects of much interest, and they are in truth most melancholy, one finds in the monkish apartments, the monastic chapel, and the costly sepulchre of the founder and his family. A long narrow room is shown with brick floor, and leathern chairs, where he dined. Next to it is another, only separated by folding doors, from which, when open, the despot borrowed the light by which he wrote his despatches. In this room is a plain oak table, with three brass ink bottles on one side, and a velvet writing-case in the middle: these, with the leather-bottomed chair on which he sat, are carefully preserved. From this room you pass into a third, low and dark, a mere cell, whence through an opening in the wall the altar of the monastery chapel may be seen; there he spent his last hours, after being, like his prototype Herod, smitten by an angel of the Lord, and eaten up of worms; no death could be more horrible. That chapel

is an enormous marble building, most costly, most dreary; and into one corner of the *coro*, he would sometimes steal, to perform his devotions with the Jeronymite brotherhood. The sepulchre is under the high altar, and is reached by a slippery marble staircase; and round the sides of the vault are placed sarcophagi, one above another, Charles V. occupying the topmost position, and Philip being placed under his father. The dismalness of the spot is unrelieved by any emblem or suggestion of Christian hope: not even such a ray falls over it as that which lighted up the mind of the heathen Cicero, when he spoke of meeting in the future life an assembly of noble souls.

The first stone of the monastery was laid by Philip II. on the 23rd of April, 1563; the first stone of the church on the 20th of August following. The work went on, and the palace was fit for the reception of royalty in 1577. Just after that time, a fire broke out, which threatened to destroy the building; but the flames were extinguished, though not without difficulty, and after some partial injury had been done. What the royal builder lamented most was the loss of precious relics consumed in the conflagration; but the recovery of a piece of the true cross, and of St. Lawrence's right arm, proved a great solace. Between the two years just mentioned, 1563 and 1577, a bereavement had occurred in the royal family—the death of Philip's son Don Carlos, whose name has been interwoven with the history of the Reformation.

He was suspected of heresy whilst he was living, and De Castro has endeavoured, I think most unsuccessfully, to prove that he was a Protestant. His life was made up of the strangest conduct which can be imagined, and it ended in a painful tragedy. On numerous occasions he acted as one thoroughly mad, and was ultimately accused of a plot against his father's life. The whole of his life is wrapped in mystery, and it would be quite out of place to attempt any elucidation of it here. The State papers bearing on the

circumstances are not to be found, and numerous theories to account for his character and his fate have been devised by ingenious historians. Some have thought that intrigues went on between him and Isabella, his step-mother, Philip's wife, who had been originally selected as a bride for the youth; but I find no satisfactory proof whatever of improprieties between them. Nor can the charge of a plot against his father be substantiated, much less the assertion that the youth was a Protestant. That he did not think as his father did respecting theological questions is more than probable. He was, however, very unlikely to have troubled himself about them at all, though I judge it likely that he could not accept the dogmas he had been taught, and did not like the *autos* he had witnessed.¹

Philip, after he took up his abode in the Escorial, went on with his old work, striving to crush the Reformation wherever he could. In that cell-like apartment which I have described, seated at his desk, on his leather-bottomed chair, he laboured with all the assiduity of a common clerk who earns his bread by the number of folios for which he is paid. "He did four times the amount of work here, says a Jeronymite (Siguença), that he did in the same number of days in the capital. He used to boast that thus hidden from the world with a little bit of paper he ruled over both hemispheres."²

Philip's designs on the Reformation in our own country are of the

¹ "De Castro labours hard," says Prescott ('Life of Philip II.' ii. 501), "to prove that Don Carlos was a Protestant. If he fails to establish the fact, he must be allowed to have shown that the prince's conduct was such as to suggest great doubts of his orthodoxy among those who approached the nearest to him." I think De Castro does fail to establish the fact that Don Carlos was a Protestant, but I fully concur with Prescott in the latter part of his opinion. To show that a man is not a Roman Catholic is insufficient to prove that he is a Protestant. He may be an unbeliever altogether. There is an elaborate life of Don Carlos and Philip II., by M. Gachard, who cites different opinions respecting the death of the former. His own opinion is that Philip did not put his son to death by direct means, but that he hastened it by cruel treatment.

² Prescott's 'History of the Reign of Philip II.' iii. 391.

greatest interest to English readers. At an early period he began to lay plans which issued in his ill-fated Armada.

Criticism on this mad project would be out of place, but I cannot help quoting what Motley says, "Perhaps in the history of mankind there has never been a vast project of conquest conceived and matured in so protracted, and yet so desultory a manner as was this famous invasion."¹ We are often surprised at the want of common prudence betrayed by common criminals, in their cunning schemes for working out abominable ends ; but their folly is surpassed by this stupendous culprit in his designs upon the temporal and spiritual liberties of mankind. Faith in himself betrayed him into all sorts of blunders. He sent out his Armada as if to a water frolic rather than an enterprise equally daring and difficult. What became of the expedition despatched in a fit of insanity, to finish his war upon Protestantism by conquering England, I need not tell. Yet the Spaniards were as mad as their monarch. They counted on victory with the proudest hope, the wildest confidence, and people went about Madrid singing the following ballad.

"And Bartolo, my brother,
To England forth is gone,
Where the Drake he means to kill ;
And the Lutherans, every one,
Excommunicate from God,
Their queen among the first,
He will capture and bring back,
Like heretics accurst.
And he promises, moreover,
Among his spoils and gains,
A heretic young serving-boy,
To give me, bound in chains ;
And for my lady grandmamma,
Whose years such waiting crave,
A little handy Lutheran,
To be her maiden slave."²

¹ Motley, 'United Netherlands,' ii. 463.

² Ticknor, ii. 171.

Hatred of Protestantism prevailed generally amongst the Spanish people, and Lope de Vega in his poems expressed the popular sentiment in this respect. Sir Francis Drake, as the ballad just quoted shows, was an object of intense antipathy. When he died, in 1596, the event inspired Lope's 'La Dragontea.' The poet rejoiced that the Dragon, as he calls the English captain, had been taken out of the world, in answer to Christian prayer, and that the "scarlet lady of Babylon," as he terms Queen Elizabeth, had been at last defeated.

The efforts of Philip to destroy the Reformation signally failed. He aimed at restoring the Church of Rome to the position it held before Martin Luther's time; but, whatever the temporary success attendant on his policy, he was in the long run beaten at every point. The Netherlands he made a frantic endeavour to Romanize from end to end; he would fain have swept out of the country every vestige of Protestantism, but the end of all he did was to drive the people into an attitude of invincible resistance; to root the new faith more firmly in their hearts; to cause it to grow to a loftier height and to extend so broad a shadow, that under it they found shelter through coming centuries. And thence the Pilgrim Fathers were destined to go forth, and found an unexampled Commonwealth in another hemisphere. He made a political blunder whilst committing a moral crime; for he forfeited the allegiance of his northern subjects, cut off the Low Countries from the Spanish realm, and not only curtailed his empire, but struck a deadly blow at its commercial prosperity. England he sought to bring back to the dominion of the pope, to neutralise all that had been done by Tyndale, Latimer and others, to snatch the crown from Elizabeth and to set up a Catholic dynasty in her room; but the upshot of his plans was to help the cause he laboured to destroy. He divorced in this island patriotism from popery, he caused the latter to appear in the eyes of honest Englishmen as the enemy of their country, seeing that it equipped a proud

Armada to invade its shores ; and he caused patriotism, rising in renewed strength, to strike a treaty of everlasting friendship with Protestantism as the best defender of national independence. He made popery more than ever hateful, thus driving home the lesson taught by the fires which he and his unhappy wife had kindled in Smithfield and throughout the kingdom. Spain and popery became identical : England and Protestantism wholly one. Philip's policy made our seamen braver than they had ever been, and the seizure of many a Spanish galleon was the forfeit paid for Philip's madness. The inspiration of righteous resentment for that great wrong continued to move our fathers' hearts throughout the seventeenth century, and to quicken by its breath the policy of Oliver Cromwell, who was the terror of Spain and Rome. In the Peninsula, for a long sad time, it is true, Philip's anti-Protestant designs appeared wholly to prosper. The Roman Catholic religion had the whole field to itself—with what intellectual, political and moral results, the history of the two hundred years after his time tells. Though Roman Catholicism has still a strong hold on Spain, two institutions which Philip regarded as the main props of his system have fallen under the assaults of modern civilisation—the Inquisition and the monastery. The Inquisition is no more, and modern Spaniards, including many a Roman Catholic, point with horror to the *campos* where hecatombs of victims were offered to the Moloch of intolerance.¹ Convents are comparatively few and far between.

If any two things were thought by Philip essential to the success of his plans, they were those just mentioned, and he would have regarded their destruction as the extinguishment of his hopes.

¹ Motley, in his 'History of the United Netherlands' (iii. 517), justly remarks, "Spain was not a nation, but a temporary and factitious conjunction of several nations, which it was impossible to fuse into a permanent whole, but whose united resources a single monarch for a time disposed. And the very concentration of these vast and unlimited powers, portentous as it was, in this single hand, inspiring the individual, not unnaturally, with the consciousness of superhuman grandeur, impelled him to those frantic and puerile efforts to achieve the impossible which resulted in the downfall of Spain."

There was a curious contrivance of his to check the Reformation which is commonly overlooked. He threw a network over the ocean as well as over the land. The pope granted a bull, in July, 1571, sanctioning the appointment of a Commissary-General in every sea-port in the Peninsula, to require an official declaration from all shipmasters, before they set sail, that they had no heretical wares on board their vessels. Cadiz, in particular, was a place for such operations, and the reverend fathers, with their attendants, might be seen on the quays of that port, looking after the freights which were shipped, and exacting the required certificates. At a subsequent period we discover the same general policy carried out in a treaty between the King of Spain and James I., King of England. Any Englishman coming into the Spanish kingdom was not to be held accountable for any anti-Roman Catholic acts previously committed by him elsewhere, nor was he to be compelled to attend on the worship of the country; but if he did enter a sacred edifice he was required to do homage to the Holy Sacrament, and if he met the Host as it was carried through the streets, he was to fall down on his knees before it, or in some way escape from the pathway of the procession. If the officers of ships should commit any *excess*, whatever the elastic word might mean, and the Holy Office proceeded against them for such offence, their own goods were to be sequestered in consequence; the property of others on board being graciously exempted from forfeiture.¹

Before I leave that part of my subject which relates to Philip II., may I be allowed to observe that it is natural to suppose that in carrying out his extended policy he habitually acted in harmony with the pontiffs of Rome? This was, however, by no means the case. Philip II. sent a letter to the Princess Juana, July 10, 1556, written from England, and speaks of Protestant sects there, saying they were being reduced to the

¹ Winwood's 'Memorials,' ii. 29, 30.

obedience of the Church¹ "by being castigated;" then he tells her "that no attention should be paid to the papal interdict, for it was unjust and without foundation."² He and the popes were often at variance. The one to whose interdict he refers in this communication was John Peter Caraffa, Paul IV.; with Felix Peritti, Sixtus V., he also, though not to the same extent, came into collision. The pope insisted on the revocation of certain articles in a pragmatic sanction which Philip maintained. He told the king "that no offence was more displeasing to God than to usurp ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as was proved by all sacred and profane history." He conjured his majesty to abandon ecclesiastical control over bishops, archbishops, and cardinals. "It was," he said, "a great offence. Do not believe those who give contrary counsel. Rather believe me, whom God has given for a spiritual father, and believe the Church which is your mother, and obedience to her is necessary to salvation."³ Nor were their views with regard to Queen Elizabeth the same. Philip was for crushing the sister of his deceased wife; Sixtus preferred a gentle method, hoping for her conversion. The former with an iron will prepared and carried out the Armada enterprise: the latter vacillated, according as he received intelligence from Madrid and from England. Philip had his eye on the English crown for himself; Sixtus did not wish him to have so wide a dominion,⁴ for

¹ Philip's persecuting policy appears from the whole history of his life; but we find a remarkable passage in Strype relative to a sermon listened to by him whilst in England: "February 10th (1554), being Sunday, Alphonsus, a Spanish Greyfriar, preached before the king; and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men; saying that they learned it not in Scripture to put any to death for conscience, but, on the contrary, rather to let them live and be converted." Strype's *'Memorials,'* iii. 209. This friar was Philip's confessor. See Prescott's remarks on this incident, *'History of the Reign of Philip II.'*

² *'Coleccion Diplomática,'* Madrid, 1809. No. 4.

³ *'Sixte-Quint d'après des Correspondances Diplomatiques inédites, tirées des archives d'Etat du Vatican, de Simancas, de Venise, de Paris, de Vienne et de Florence,'* par M. le Baron de Hubner, i. 365.

⁴ *Ibid.* 357.

he entertained modern ideas as to the balance of power. Ranke, however, represents Philip as tardy in his preparations for the Armada, and Sixtus as irritated by Philip's delay ;¹ in either view of the case, a want of harmony between the prince and the pontiff is apparent. It comes out still more strongly in an account of the Spanish envoy's interview with the pope. He protested in his master's name against the papal conduct. Sixtus told him it was heresy to act in that way, and would not allow him to proceed. The ambassador knelt and persisted in his entreaties, the pontiff called him "a stone of offence," and left the room, declaring that no earthly prince had a right to school one whom God had set over all other men.²

After Philip's death, a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated Madrid, April 19th, 1608, discloses another example of Spanish interference with the liberty of English subjects. "There hath lately been apprehended by the Office of Inquisition at Aya-monte, and conveyed to Syvill (Seville), one Thomas Ferres, a merchant, whose brothers in London, I suppose, are not unknown to some of your lordships. His trouble, as himself supposeth, groweth out of the malice of a friar of our nation, resident in that town ; who, prevailing not to draw him to subscribe to a form of a confession and oath (the copy thereof I send here enclosed), hath, as it seems, either by himself or some other of that malignant condition, procured him to be accused to the Inquisitors. These, like hungry hawks, have been easily induced to seize upon so pleasing a prey ; having not only laid their talons upon his person, but upon his goods."³ Ferres was shut up in a dungeon for six months at least, and was set at liberty only through the resolute interposition of the ambassador. The sufferer managed to recover his property a fortnight afterwards. The Jesuits threatened the

¹ 'History of the Popes,' ii. 169.

² Ibid. ii. 218.

³ Winwood's 'Memorials of Affairs of State,' ii. 347.

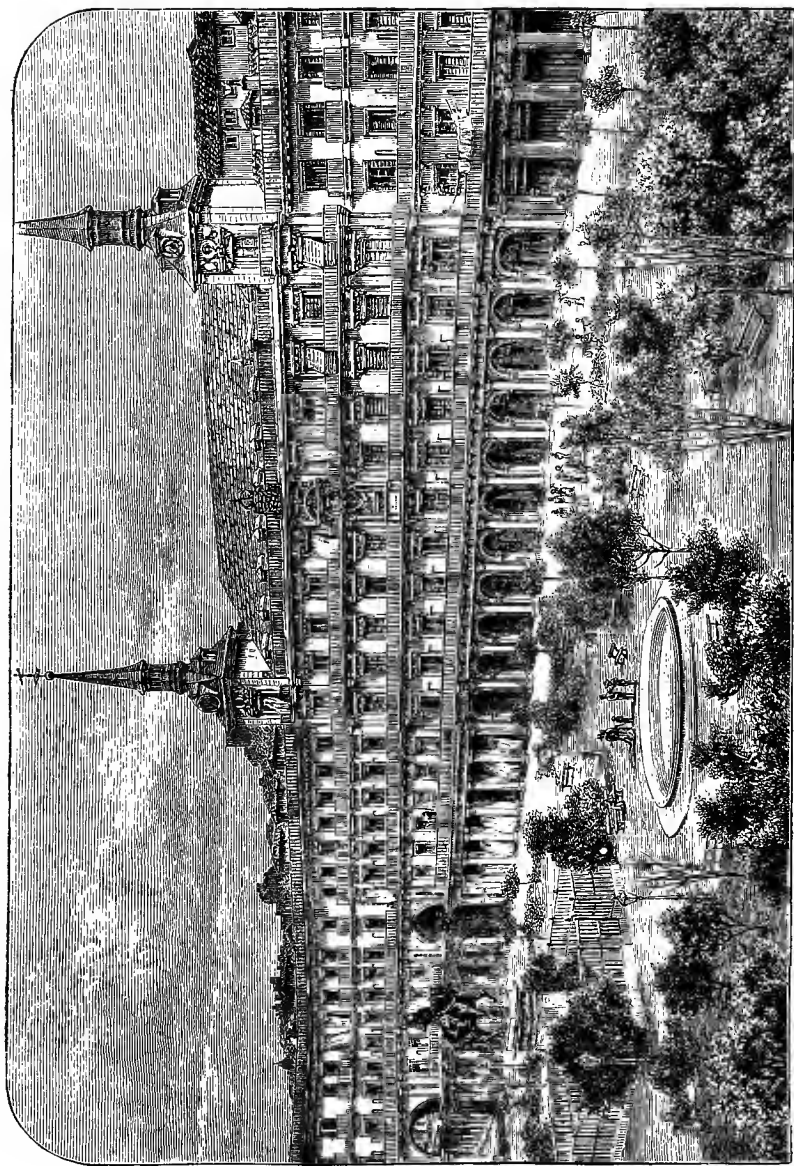
Inquisitor-General, for not preventing this interference of the civil power, and the royal court, with the higher prerogatives of the spiritual tribunal.

Autos de fé were witnessed in Madrid after Philip II.'s time. One was held on the accession of Philip IV. to the throne, in 1621; but no Protestant was burnt. A nun, however, was led forth, in a *sanbenito*, with a gag in her mouth, to receive two hundred lashes for *heresy*—so a contract she is said to have made with Satan is strangely described. Heresy sunk lower in the scale of guilt than vice.

A Franciscan monk expelled successively from two religious houses on a charge of heresy, one day, in a frantic fit, seized the consecrated Host from a priest's hands and destroyed it before his face. For this inexcusable act he had of course to answer before the Inquisition, and was pronounced by that authority to be a Lutheran and a Calvinist—a very confused kind of description. He underwent the sentence of death by fire, the poor man being burnt alive, in 1623. Lope de Vega officiated on the occasion, and directed the ghastly ceremonies. Four years afterwards the poet wrote the 'Corona Tragica' on the fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, whom he glorified as a martyr, and, at the same time, denounced Queen Elizabeth as a Jezebel and an Athaliah, who ought not to have been spared by King Philip when he had her in his power.¹

The spots connected with the *autos de fé* in Madrid are easily identified. The Plaza Mayor, not far from the Puerta del Sol, or Gate of the Sun, was the scene of preliminaries before the burning. The square is different now from what it was at the commencement of the seventeenth century; but the magnificent statue of Philip III. on horseback existed there in 1616; pulled down by the Red Republicans in 1873, it has been replaced in its original position, and looks very majestic in the midst of the beautiful garden laid out in the noble area. That is between 400 and 500

¹ Ticknor, ii. 187.



THE PLAZA, MADRID

feet long, and between 300 and 400 feet broad. It was the place for public spectacles before the garden was planted; and here our Charles I., when visiting Madrid, was entertained by the exhibition of a bull-fight. "By a clause in their leases, the inmates of houses were bound on these occasions to give up their front rooms and balconies, which were then fitted up as boxes. The royal seat was prepared on the part called La Panaderia."¹

In this plaza the *autos* of 1621, 1623, 1632, were held. Fifty-three victims were condemned at the *auto* of 1632,² when the king was present with his family. Seven of the condemned were burnt in person, and four in effigy, while forty-two, nearly all Portuguese Jews, were reconciled. One of these Israelites and his wife were proprietors of a house they had used for a synagogue, and on that account the building was razed to the ground. In 1869 excavations were being made on the spot, when a little below the surface a black layer was discovered, found to consist of charred wood, bones, chain-links, nails and rivets. There could be no doubt what those relics meant. Among them were two bony hands clasped in the attitude of prayer, and a spear was seen protruding from a mass of bones. "Shortly after the discovery," says Dr. Manning, "I visited the spot, and, much as I had heard of the horrors of the Quemadero, I was not prepared for the sight I beheld; layer above layer, like the strata in a geological model, were these silent but most eloquent witnesses to the murderous cruelty of Rome."³ I went to the same place, near the Hospital de la Princesa, and found the streaks which Dr. Manning mentions still distinctly visible. And I may add, in further identification of localities connected with Spanish persecution, that on visiting my friend, the Rev. Mr. Jameson—a Presbyterian minister, who is carrying on efficient missionary work in Madrid—I found that the

¹ Ford's 'Handbook,' sixth edition, 40.

² Misprinted 1522 in Llorente, iii. 465.

³ 'Spanish Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil.'

chapel in which he preaches—and that in which Episcopalian worship is conducted under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Whereat, Chaplain to the British Embassy—really form part of a larger edifice, which once constituted an office where the Inquisition carried on its proceedings. I went down into long subterranean passages and recesses, not looking like cells, but connected with places now walled up, which were no doubt used for Inquisitional purposes. The number of Protestants, properly speaking, burnt at Madrid, I cannot ascertain; but I conclude, from such specific instances as are given by Llorente, that they must have been few compared with other victims, such as Jews and people accused of sorcery. The reason is plain enough, Protestantism did not gain a footing in the Spanish metropolis as it did in the cities of Seville and Valladolid.

The Inquisition claimed an independence which Philip IV. was by no means prepared to concede. In the year 1633, he wrote to De Castro, the Inquisitor-General, in the following strains:—"My principal care and obligation have been, and always will be, the increase and preservation of our Holy Catholic faith, in which care the Holy Office and its ministers are occupied with a well-known devotedness and vigilance. And because they need my sanction and protection, in order that they may proceed with the authority that is desirable, I have ordained, conformably with what the kings my predecessors have done, *to reserve to myself all the causes and matters* of the Inquisitions of this kingdom which in any way concern it; and of which it is I who must render an account, without permitting them to be discussed in any other council or junta whatsoever. For my pleasure is, that such matters be immediately submitted to myself only, by you, through the Count Duke of St. Lucar, whom I have named to this effect, that he may answer and despatch in such manner as may be most convenient, without the intervention of any other minister or tribunal; and that, if there be not present in my court any minister deputy for

the Inquisitors, you remit the papers that may be wanted to Diego Suarez, my Secretary of State in the Council of the Crown, who resides with me, and who is also Secretary of the Holy Office, that he may pass them to the Count Duke."¹

This is a very important document, and throws light on a conflict often occurring between the civil and spiritual powers in Spain. But it must not be imagined that Philip IV. was opposed to the principle of the Inquisition, that he had any notion of what we call religious liberty. He was a determined persecutor. On being asked as a matter of form for permission to thrust one of his ministers of state into the Inquisition, he gave it, and added as a voluntary protestation, that if his own son were guilty he would give him up with an equally good will. His son, "Balthazar was then alive, and a child he passionately loved."² The fourth Philip walked in the footsteps of the second, and only resisted the Inquisition when he thought it trenched on his own absolute authority.

An *auto* makes its appearance at Madrid in 1688, under circumstances which indicate how popular still was the brutal display, and how thoroughly it accorded with the temper of the nation. A "relacion" of it is published, whence it appears that on the morning of June the 30th, at seven o'clock, the ceremony commenced, and was not over till the next morning at nine; the king and queen sitting to witness the spectacle for fourteen hours. Eighty-five grandees acted as familiars of the Holy Office, and the king sent with his own hands the first faggot to the pile. Twenty-one persons were burnt alive, on what account I do not know; altogether one hundred and fifty were paraded as penitents.

The despotism and cruelty of the Inquisition, in principle sanctioned and promoted by the crown, continued through the seventeenth century down to the middle of the eighteenth. Philip V., "as he grew older, grew more bigoted." At first he thought of suppressing the Holy Office; but at last "he seemed to rejoice as

¹ Rule's 'History of the Inquisition,' 203.

² Ticknor, iii. 236.

much as any of his predecessors in devoting the whole of his prerogatives to advance the interests of the priesthood." ¹

In connection with the bigotry of Philip V., it may be mentioned that in his reign the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, countenanced in 1617 by papal bull, prevailed throughout Spain. "It penetrated," says Ticknor, "the whole people;" and he adds, "I remember that if one peasant met another, or entered another's cottage in Spain in 1818, he would say, by way of salutation, *Ave Maria purissima*; to which the one addressed made answer *Sin pecado concebida*." ²

In concluding this chapter, let it be remembered that throughout its existence the Inquisition, established professedly for preserving the faith of the Church, was applied really and very often for different purposes. If a man became politically, socially, or personally obnoxious, it was easy enough to make him pay a penalty for it through help from the Holy Office. An informer had only to trump up a charge of heresy, and the object of revenge was accomplished at once. Some word hastily spoken, some act thoughtlessly performed, some sympathetic or pitiful feeling kindly expressed in reference to one under the Church's ban, had but to be reported in the proper quarter, and the accused disappeared from his home, and soon found himself a prisoner in some secret cell. If a conviction of heresy could not be secured—and very slender grounds sufficed for the purpose—a long detention, much suffering, great expense, and not a little disgrace, would be endured by an innocent neighbour, to the iniquitous gratification of a private enemy.

¹ Ticknor, iii. 276.

² Ibid. iii. 277.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOGROÑO AND ZARAGOZA.

LOGROÑO, by a detour, may be glanced at on our way to Zaragoza. It is a town of little importance, built on the banks of the Ebro, amidst a rich plain spreading out to Navarre, Alava and Old Castile. It has a corn-market, maintains considerable traffic, and is on the whole rather a prosperous place. A Gothic church with two spires, dedicated to Santa María la Redonda, is said to have been built by the Emperor Constantine; and this, no doubt, is quite as worthy of belief as many other Spanish traditions. A Dominican, San Juan de Ortega, was a *pontifex maximus*; and he built not only the bridge at Logroño, but bridges elsewhere. San Formedio is another celebrity and patron. He milked, it is said, lions, tigers and bears, and with the milk made cheeses for the poor by angelic authority.¹ Whatever may be the superstition now, it cannot be less than it was in the sixteenth century, when the Inquisition reigned in glory, laying cruel hands on Jews, Moors, and heretics. Logroño had its annual *auto de fé*, and witnessed the punishments of several Lutherans. In 1568, Inquisitorial zeal was stirred up afresh by rumours of heretical books brought over the frontiers, and of Protestant movements in the kingdom of Navarre. About 1573, a Carthusian monk of the Convent of Portaceli, at a particular *auto* arranged for the occasion in the Hall of Audience belonging to the Tribunal, and in the presence of

¹ Ford (third edition, 946) quotes 'Anquiano,' p. 191, as his authority. I find neither Juan de Ortega nor Formedio in Butler's 'Catalogue of Saints.'

a number of Carthusian brethren, made his abjuration as a *suspectivo de levi*—that is, as one tainted in a measure with heresy, the heresy being of a Lutheran cast. He was allowed to perform penance in the convent cloisters, after having been confined in a secret cell of the Office.¹ Such mild penalties were not common. Four French Huguenots, who had come to live in Spanish Navarre, and were engaged in honest employments, were, in 1593, sentenced to do penance, when five others were condemned to be burnt in person, and seven in effigy.

Zaragoza, with its transitional and Renaissance domestic architecture, its carved rafters and cornices, its cinque-cento decorations, and its slim belfry towers, seems to be a picturesque but dirty city. Its great boast rests on two cathedrals, occupied alternately, six months at a time, by the same staff of priests and their attendants. "The old cathedral is called the '*Seu*' par excellence, the other being the cathedral '*del pilar*' The Seu (sedes or see) is the usual term for the principal church, and the name of the second is derived from a miracle-working figure of the Blessed Virgin on a pillar, which, it seems, the people care only to worship half the year.² The Seu was modernised in the sixteenth century, retaining a Gothic outline with the addition of Renaissance details. Ford calls attention to the Chapel of San Bernardo—a saint who, he says, was "an ultra advocate of Mariolatry, in reward of which the Virgin suckled him, as Juno did Hercules; a subject which Murillo was fond of painting. Yet Bernardo was a very severe saint, for when her graven image spoke to him in the Cathedral of Spires, he replied not over politely, '*Mulier taceat in ecclesia.*'" El Pilar, the other cathedral, is famed for "the identical pillar on which the Virgin descended from heaven."

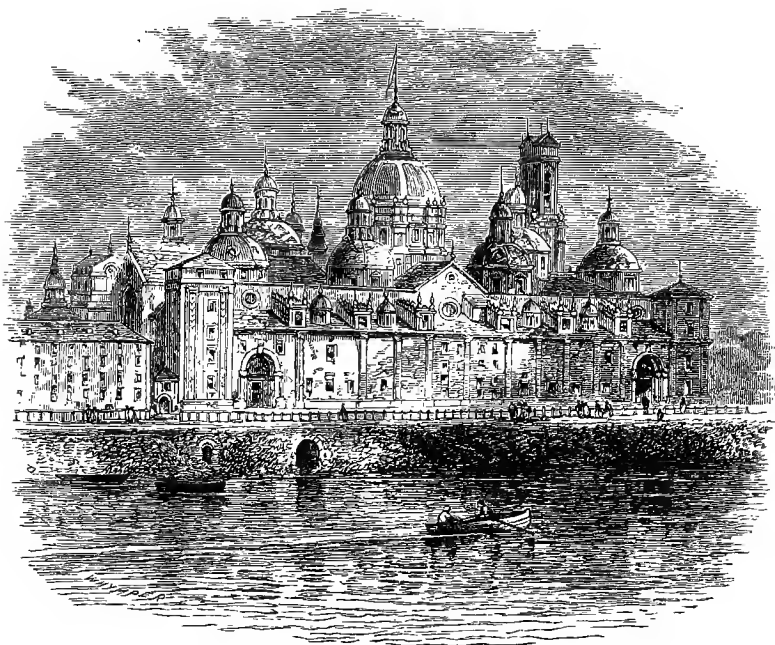
The legend of St. James, or Santiago, as the Spaniards call him, is closely connected with Zaragoza, and ought to be noticed,

¹ Llorente, ii. 61; 408, *et seq.*

² Street's '*Gothic Architecture in Spain*,' 369.

as an illustration of a circle of beliefs which characterised the Spanish Church at the era of the Reformation.

Santiago was elder brother of St. John, and received, says tradition, the benediction of the Virgin, who bid him go to one of the cities of Spain, "where," she said, "thou shalt convert the greatest number of men to the faith, and erect a church in my



THE CATHEDRAL OF THE PILLAR, ZARAGOZA.

name." The saint did the lady's bidding, and coming to Zaragoza converted eight people to the faith. These eight went to the banks of the river Ebro, and there fell asleep; and one night, Santiago being with them, they heard angel voices, and saw the Holy Mother standing upon a white marble pillar; she said, "Here, son James, is the very place where a church must be built

to my honour. Take this pillar, which, my Son, thy Master, has sent, that it may remain here to the end of the world.”¹ “All this is of great authority,” remarks Morales; the father of Spanish history. The legend goes on to relate that Santiago returned to Jerusalem, and was there beheaded, and there remained on his knees with his head in his hand, until nightfall, and the disciples came for his body to bury it. Santiago was the patron of Spain, and in his name armies were wont to wave their banners and draw their swords. As the Romans believed that Castor and Pollux, mounted on white steeds, led their fathers to battle, so Spaniards, at the time of the Reformation, believed that Santiago had, on his war-horse, headed many a conquering fight with Moorish hosts. They traced the origin of their Church back to Jerusalem, not to Rome; and it seems probable that Christianity came to their country from the eastern rather than the western centre of Christendom.

Another tradition informs us that Zaragoza produced Christian martyrs. The neighbourhood is called by Prudentius, in a beautiful hymn, “*patria sanctorum martyrum*.” St. Vincent takes a first place amongst them. He was a heathen magistrate’s son, and, becoming converted, fell into the hands of persecutors, who imprisoned him in Valencia. Brought before Dacian, he confessed, “I have always wished for an opportunity of proving my attachment to the religion of Christ; thou hast given it to me, and I am content.” Mangled under iron bars, and torn on a bed of flints, he endured all with patience. So far the tradition is credible, but monstrous legends take up the story, and declare that his body, thrown into the sea, was preserved through the instrumentality of a crow, which figures quaintly in many an old Spanish carving. It is a curious fact, however, that both Santiago and Vincent are embalmed in Italian rather than Spanish art. I find many

¹ ‘Libro de Grandezas y Cosas Memorables de España,’ etc., quoted in Dunham’s ‘History of Spain and Portugal,’ i. 314.

pictures of them by Italian masters, but very few by Spanish ones. There are in existence eighty-four distinct books on the Virgin as she appears in different places, and no less than four hundred and thirty on her life generally. One is entitled '*La Mystica Ciudad*,' published in Madrid, 1670, which Maria Coronel, canonised under the name Santa Maria de Agreda, was "inspired to write by a Divine revelation."¹ It should be stated, to the credit of their common sense, that the doctors of the Sorbonne and the Vatican condemned this absurd production, notwithstanding the efforts of the Spanish ambassador to the contrary.

Spanish superstition runs riot in its Mariolatry. In the silversmiths' quarter at Zaragoza, the shops are as full of Holy Mothers as those at Ephesus were of Goddess Dianas. Models of the miraculous pillar may be seen everywhere, and prints of the Virgin's descent are hung up in bedrooms to frighten away the nightmare. Mary is called, "*La Señora de la Merced*," the mother of mercy; and the thoughts of Spaniards who Desire divine compassion are directed to her—the "only one name, and no other." She, as Regina et Conjux, "calms the rage of her heavenly husband;" tempers the "angry judge;" "commands and compels her Son;" because she, as His mother, has done more for Him than He could have done for her.²

The Inquisition was introduced to Zaragoza in the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon, who married Isabella. The citizens were opposed to it, and some of them conceived a deadly hatred against its president, one Pedro d'Arbues, a canon of the cathedral.

¹ Ford, 913.

² Diogo de Astorga, Primate of Spain, excommunicated all who questioned the history of the pillar; and as late as 1850, Madoz (xvi. 569), "the enlightened liberal, asserts that as more than ninety foreign and 400 Spanish authors maintain the legend, it cannot be apocryphal" (Ford's '*Handbook*,' 911, third edition). What an idea this Madoz must have had of historical evidence! Ford enumerates seven learned books in which this precious piece of hagiology is maintained and illustrated.

They resolved to murder him in bed, but, being disappointed in the attempt, they slew him in the church, whilst he knelt at the altar. The deed resembled that at Canterbury, and the result was similar; Pedro d'Arbues, like Thomas à Becket, was counted a martyr, and his beatification followed; the crime only established more firmly the authority of the tribunal.¹

The building appropriated to the Inquisition by King Ferdinand lies outside the portillo. It was a palace of the Moorish kings, and now has the look of a dilapidated citadel—type of the fortunes of the “Holy Office.” There is a room in the old fortress in which Elizabeth of Hungary was born; it is called, *El Salon de Santa Isabel*. The roof still retains stalactical ornaments in blue and gold.

The annals of Zaragoza supply an example of Jesuit influence, in the stirring up of persecution against advocates of Reform. Juan de Regla was a monk of St. Jerome, and confessor to Charles V., who favoured the order. This man was arrested by the Inquisitors at Zaragoza, having been denounced by the Jesuits as a Lutheran. He abjured eighteen propositions which he was accused of having maintained, and obtained absolution by performing penance; but he in consequence conceived an implacable hatred to the society, and distributed copies of a letter which had been written to him in September, 1559, saying that the Jesuits were the Visionaries and Gnostics of the sixteenth century, as Charles V. well knew, and Philip II. would find out some day.² Probably Juan de Regla was no better than he ought to have been, and not particular in stating facts or forming opinions; but the incident cited shows how wide was the sweep of Inquisitionary discipline, and what a feud existed between the new order of Jesuits and the old order of monks, and what a satire it is, with this and other facts before us, for anyone to boast of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church.

¹ Llorente, i. 188, *et seq.*

² Ibid. ii. 161; iii. 84, *et seq.*

The Inquisition at Zaragoza was very active, and *autos* were familiar to the citizens. Victims were burnt at the stake—others, by a custom as absurd as it was common, were represented by effigies, dressed up as if they were alive. Twenty people are mentioned in official records as “reconciled,” the greater part of them Huguenots from Bearn, who had come to Zaragoza. Mohammedans, Jews, and people accused of immorality, are also enumerated. The legitimacy of proceedings in a few cases was called in question by the Supreme Council; and the details of what occurred plainly show that arbitrariness and irregularity were inherent vices of the Institute.

No one can be surprised that officers at Zaragoza, situated as it was so near to Navarre, were zealous in looking after Calvinists, who in considerable numbers at the time passed over into Spain. Circumstances arose in 1568, which led to redoubled vigilance and activity.

Llorente informs us that there was communicated to the Holy Office new information received from England and France, touching Protestantism in the Peninsula. Don Diego de Guzman, Spanish ambassador at London, stated to his master at Madrid, that English people were talking of the Reformation in Navarre and Spain. At the same juncture his excellency the Spanish ambassador to France, then at Vienna, sent home accounts of French Calvinists, saying how they congratulated themselves upon a treaty of peace signed between their own and the Spanish monarch, from which treaty they hoped for brighter days.¹

The year 1568 was near the close of the twelve years' war carried on by Philip II. and his allies of the Inquisition against Spanish Reformers—and it was also a year when Condé was pushing his victories, though all the while treading ground which shook under his feet. The Treaty of Long-jumeau, in the March of that year, was followed by outrages on the Huguenots, which

¹ Llorente, ii. 394.

roused them to fresh efforts of bravery. At La Rochelle, Condé was joined by Jean, Queen of Navarre, and her son Henry, afterwards *Henri Quatre*—who said to some Protestant orators who welcomed him, “I have not yet studied enough to speak as well as you do, gentlemen ; but I assure you that if I *speake* but ill, I will *do* better ; for I know more of acting than of talking.” An oath of fidelity to the cause was adopted at Rochelle with French enthusiasm. In that year it was that the tidings just noticed reached Spain ; and the eyes of the king and courtiers would be looking over the Pyrenees, to see what the gathering of events boded in relation to the conflict of the age.

Aragon and Navarre were closely connected. Zaragoza was the capital of Old Aragon, and after this ancient domain, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had been united with Castile, the two constituted one kingdom. To this united realm, a portion of Old Navarre, situated to the south of the Pyrenees, had been annexed by Ferdinand, so that in 1568 it formed the north-eastern border of Spain. The inhabitants of this little strip would be one in heart with those on the other side the mountain wall, and one in bonds of forced submission with the Aragonese of Zaragoza. This twofold relation explains the interest taken by Spanish rulers and subjects at the time in the Protestant affairs of Navarre, and also the interest taken by Navarre Protestants in the Catholic affairs of Spain.

Jean d’Albret was a thorough Protestant, and tried, but unsuccessfully, to make her son like herself. She established, chiefly by her own will, the Protestant faith in her little kingdom ; and when French enemies were trying to frighten her, she magnanimously resisted ; yet, in a pacific spirit, she said, “I will do nothing by force ; there shall not be death nor imprisonment nor condemnation, which are the sinews of force.”¹ Merlin, a famous French

¹ See quotation from the original letters, Baird’s ‘Rise of the Huguenots,’ ii. 148. Jean d’Albret was so pronounced an advocate of the Reformation, that upon a glass

pastor, was her counsellor and friend, though she did not always take his advice ; perhaps it might have been better had she done so.

Five years before 1568, a Spanish invasion of that part of Navarre under the rule of its brave queen, was threatened. Charles V., in a moment of conscientious compunction, had told his son to ascertain whether Spain had a right to any part of Navarre ; but Philip, instead of restoring stolen property, thought of adding to it more and more plunder. Pope Pius IV. abetted dishonesty, and issued a bull in 1563, excommunicating Jean d'Albret, and offering her dominions to an orthodox competitor, who would purify them from heresy. Though Philip had instigated the pope in this nefarious transaction, he positively assured the French court that he disapproved of it ; yet in 1563 he planned the capture of the queen and her son.

Thus a decided Protestant power is seen vigorously at work to the north of the Pyrenees, and standing face to face with the old Aragonese kingdom and its capital, Catholic to the backbone. Commercial intercourse there could not but be between the people of the two kingdoms. No one who has travelled on the sides of the Pyrenees, and having scaled that wall, reached one of its picturesque gaps, can ever forget how on the north, France is seen opening out her vast plains, and on the south, glimpses are caught of far-spreading Spanish landscapes. Muleteers, as intimated already, I well remember meeting there, in rich native costume, with their animals gaily caparisoned, strung together, and carrying heavy burdens ; that picture illustrates the kind of intercourse which went on three hundred years ago over those same hill-tops ; and it is easy to imagine how the peasant merchants talked of what happened in

window at Limoges still in existence, she appears in a pulpit preaching to Huguenots. Underneath is this couplet—

“Mal sont les gens endoctrinés
Quand par femme sont sermonés.”

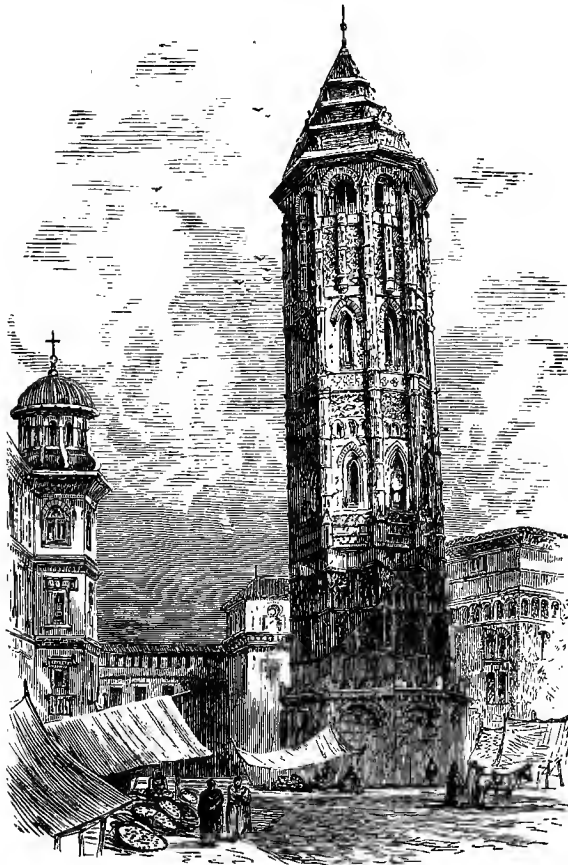
the world, and perhaps told of what had been seen at the Zaragoza *autos*. If Spaniards went over to Navarre, Navarrese would return the visits. Some would be Protestants, and would search out Spanish brethren, telling them of good Queen Jean and the good pastor Merlin. It does not require any stretch of imagination to conceive of some wayfarer up the passes, carrying cleverly secreted Protestant books. The Inquisitor-General received information about such books, in the Castilian tongue, designed for Spain. Some, we know, were put into casks of champagne and burgundy, and were smuggled through custom-houses; and it is likely enough that others would be conveyed over the mountains in the pedlar's sack, or in piled-up luggage on the backs of sleek Spanish mules.

A curious episode is recorded about the transportation of horses across the border. At an *auto* held in 1578, a man was brought out condemned for heresy, and punished because he had taken some Spanish horses into France. In the reign of Alfonso XI., King of Castile, the transportation of horses into neighbouring dominions had been forbidden under the severest penalties. The civil wars in France gave more importance than ever to this prohibition, lest assistance should be given to the Huguenot party. Philip II. thought that the prohibition would be better executed by officers of the Inquisition than by any other agents; he deemed ecclesiastics the best instruments for putting an end to contraband dealings, which were made the means of promoting heretical designs, —though, at first sight, what horses have to do with heresy is hard to understand. The Council of the Inquisition issued a declaration obliging every Spanish Catholic to denounce anybody known to have bought horses, and passed them over the Pyrenees for the service of Protestants. They were also to inform their confessors of any whom they suspected of selling munition of war to infidels, heretics or Lutherans.¹

Amidst the jealousies and strifes which were ever and anon

¹ Llorente, ii. 393-398.

bursting out between the two powers, separated not only by the chain of the Pyrenees, but by their religious antipathies, an incident occurred, showing how merely personal strife prompted applications



THE LEANING TOWER, ZARAGOZA.

to the Holy Office, and how charges of heresy could be invented to subserve selfish ends. The diocese of Jaca and the diocese of Huesca in Aragon were, after a temporary separation, reunited in

1572, and Don Pedro de Frago was appointed prelate over the reunited sees. If one of the sees gained by the arrangement, the other lost by it, so it was said ; and the aggrieved parties sought to upset what had been done by attacking the character of the new bishop. Hence they went to the Inquisitors of Zaragoza, and trumped up a charge of heresy against him, founded on irregularities in reference to the confessional, the celebration of mass, and some other things. The real object was to separate again the two sees, for the gratification of clerical complainants who were irritated by the bishop's attempt to reform abuses condemned by the Council of Trent.¹ The Inquisitors lent a willing ear to an accusation of heresy—an accusation always welcome ; but in this case it seems to have been utterly baseless ; moreover, they were eager to exercise control over episcopal dignitaries, whose resistance of Inquisitional authority proved a sore trouble to the Holy Office.

A curious defence of the Inquisition was set up at Zaragoza, which is worth a passing notice. Manuel Guerra Ribera, a Salamancan professor, preached in the Franciscan convent of that city, and the theme of his discourse was the murmuring at Christ, saying, that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils. A like accusation, remarked the preacher, was brought against Inquisitors, who only walked in the footsteps of our Lord.² They were employed in casting out devils, and many said they did it through Beelzebub's help. "I will reduce my discourse to two points," the preacher goes on to say, "first the obligation to denounce ; secondly, the sacred functions of the Judge Inquisitor." As to the first point, Ribera remarks that Saint Stephen prayed to God that He would pardon those who stoned him, so far as his death was concerned ; but he did not ask God to pardon Stephen's persecutors for their sin in rejecting the Holy Ghost. In like manner, the Inquisition forgave enmity against itself, but not offence against the Almighty. Moses was an Inquisitor, and con-

¹ Llórente, iii. 73, *et seq.*

² See his namesake's sermon, Chapter V.

demned his grandfather Pharaoh, and rebuked his brother Aaron ; and Joshua was an Inquisitor, who committed to the flames Achan, a Canaanitish prince. Therefore, it is just that heretics should be denounced and consumed, whether they be fathers, mothers, or princes royal. As to the second point, Peter was an Inquisitor, who proceeded against Simon Magus. So also was David, who proceeded against Goliath. The book of the Apocalypse is a symbol of the Inquisition. Angels poured out the vials of Divine wrath. Inquisitors do the same.¹ There is much more to the same effect in the friar's sermon ; the whole manifesting the absurd fanaticism of the preacher, and the spirit of vengeance with which the Reformation was assailed.

The same spirit continued down to the beginning of the present century. Don Miguel Juan Antonio Solano was Vicar of Esco, in Aragon, in 1805. He had been educated in one of the Spanish universities, and had been taught the Aristotelian system of natural philosophy, as well as the Scholastic system of Christianity. The former he abandoned ; and objections to the latter arose in his mind. Severe illness crippling him for life, and compelling a relinquishment of his vicarage, he devoted his leisure to reading and studying the Bible. He worked out a combination of theological opinions, which agreed on the whole with Protestant confessions ; and when he had done so, he felt constrained to avow the change he had undergone to the bishop of the diocese and the Zaragoza university. The Holy Office apprehended and imprisoned him. He escaped to France, and then resolved to return to Spain. Arraigned before the Tribunal soon afterwards, he declared his belief of the following doctrines : that all saving truth was contained in the Sacred Scriptures ; that every departure from its teaching, whatever Rome might say, was false and wrong ; that purgatory was a human invention ; that it is sinful to say masses for the sake of money ; that tithes do not divinely belong to the

¹ Llorente, iv. 23.

Church, but have been improperly claimed by the priesthood ; and that ministers ought to be paid by the State, as civil officers are. After undergoing a trial, Solano was condemned to death, and handed over to the secular magistrate for execution. But the Inquisitor-General, at that time Archbishop of Zaragoza, had no heart for such work. He shrank from an *auto de fé*, and could not endure burning a man for heresy. He proposed further inquiry ; but the Inquisitors renewed their previous sentence. The archbishop then required that Solano's state of mind should be examined. A friendly physician, being consulted, gave an opinion that the accused was insane, otherwise how could he have embraced opinions contrary to the judgment of his brethren ! The obtaining of a retractation was attempted, but Solano persisted in renewing his confession, and added against the papal court a charge of avarice and of suppressing truth. In prison, with flames before him, he caught a fever. Inquisitors tried to persuade him to return to the Church's bosom. A physician, seeing that life could not last any longer, begged him to be reconciled to the Church. "I am in the hands of God," he replied, "and have nothing more to do." Christian burial was refused, and his remains were interred within the Inquisition enclosure, by a back gate near the River Ebro.¹

Before leaving Zaragoza it will be scarcely a digression to turn back from the Inquisition and the monastery to Philip II., and notice a circumstance which took place when the king visited the city to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter with the Duke of Savoy. It happened in 1585, and was a grand occasion ; the etiquette of the court, the personages present, the jewelled costumes worn, and the dances executed by lords and dames, were duly chronicled by an ambassador who delightedly gazed at the ceremonies.²

¹ Llorente, iv. 127, *et seq.*

² De Hubner in his 'Sixte-Quint,' has drawn up from the despatches of the Venetian ambassador an elaborate account of the whole affair, tom. i. 402.

They were certainly more in harmony with a wedding feast than the *autos* at Valladolid, when Philip himself was espoused to his French bride. Nevertheless he was intent now, as then, on the extirpation of heresy. The young Duke of Savoy insinuated himself into the good graces of his new father-in-law. He adopted Spanish manners, we are told, became as grave as any hidalgo, and returned to his own country completely transformed into a Castilian prince. Philip turned to account the advantage he had gained over his daughter's husband, by incensing him afresh against the city of Geneva, that hot-bed of heresy, and stimulating him to attempt its total extirpation. But the attempt was in vain.

CHAPTER XIV.

BARCELONA AND FIGUERAS.

BARCELONA appears to be the most prosperous city in Spain. The shipping and commerce may well remind Englishmen of Liverpool ; the Rambla suggests to the American an avenue in New York ; and the whole resembles a modern French port.

It is famous for its festivals. Christmas and New Year's days are holidays immensely popular, when dancing and eating almond cakes are amusements decidedly in the ascendant. St. Antony, the patron of pigs, and of the lower class of Catalans, is highly honoured on the 17th of January, when animals are blessed, and mules and asses are led in procession three times round his church, the saddles and harness being ornamented in true Spanish style. St. Eulalia is a sort of Diana amongst the Barcelonians, and they vie with the Ephesians of old in glorifying that lady, whoever she was, dining, dancing and playing games in memory of her saintship. The Carnival at Barcelona is like the Carnival of Rome, and the Rambla then is filled with masqueraders, as the Corso used to be. On the first day of Lent Barcelona marches out into the country to bury the Carnival, and then the inhabitants, having taken their fill of pleasure, become punctilious in performing certain Catholic ceremonies. Easter brings back the tide of revelry, and Corpus Christi is a most joyous festival. St. Iago and the days dedicated to the Virgin are kept with much ritualistic splendour. In mentioning all this as taking place in Barcelona I am indicating at the same time what generally prevails in Spain,

and it brings before the imagination pictures of the state of the country in the days of the Reformation.

The cathedral is the chief object of architectural interest; but, like other buildings of the same order in Italy, its glory is within rather than without. Some of the doorways are finely sculptured; but the width and height of the interior, with its marble *Coro*, its high altar, its magnificent *retablo*, and its richly stained windows, will most impress the visitor, though the darkness of the choir and nave make them rather disappointing. Cloisters on the south side, with a pretty garden and fountain, with the traditional geese,¹ compose altogether a very interesting picture.

I visited the church on Easter Sunday, filled with thoughts respecting the history of the Spanish Reformation, and little expected that I should hear any preacher who would serve to illustrate what I have recorded in a previous chapter relative to impressions associated with Seville. But I did. In what respect? First, the cathedral was crowded with an immense congregation. After certain childish ceremonies, a priest pressed through the throng, ascended the altar steps, knelt down and prayed, after which he mounted a temporary pulpit. As soon as he opened his lips, every eye was turned; there was perfect silence and riveted attention. His voice was marvellous, his tones varied, his attitudes graceful; sometimes he was persuasive in manner, sometimes indignant, always earnest; women wept, and tears ran down the cheeks of men apparently unused to tenderness. The subject of the sermon was the resurrection. He began in a calm, measured style, insisting upon our duty to remember Christ as the way, the truth, and the life, on this the morning of His resurrection. He described the wonderful fact, and then showed the influence it had produced on the hearts of men, and what it would do for believers here and hereafter. He dwelt

¹ "Here was the canonical aviary, in which certain sacred geese were kept, like those of the Roman Capitol."—FORD.

upon the sins of mankind, and upon the duty of repentance, and earnestly invited his hearers to come to Christ because the love of God was so great, and the joy of salvation was so great also. He exhibited the consequences of neglecting religion ; in a touching manner he referred to his own spiritual experiences ; and as a minister sent from God he exhorted the congregation to believe the Gospel, most impressively saying, again and again, " Haber fé, fé, fé." Have faith, faith, faith.¹

There were passages in the sermon, however, which made it apparent that he was a Roman Catholic beyond all doubt ; and he urged that those who heard him should come to the confessional ; but Gospel notes were mingled with other strains, musical to Protestant ears. I thought of Constantine de Ponce at Seville. Was not his preaching in manner and effect something of the same kind ? I know nothing of the padre who preached that morning except what could be gathered from his sermon ; how he might preach at other times I do not know, but certainly there was an Evangelical ring in his eloquence reminding one of Spanish Reformers more than three hundred years ago.

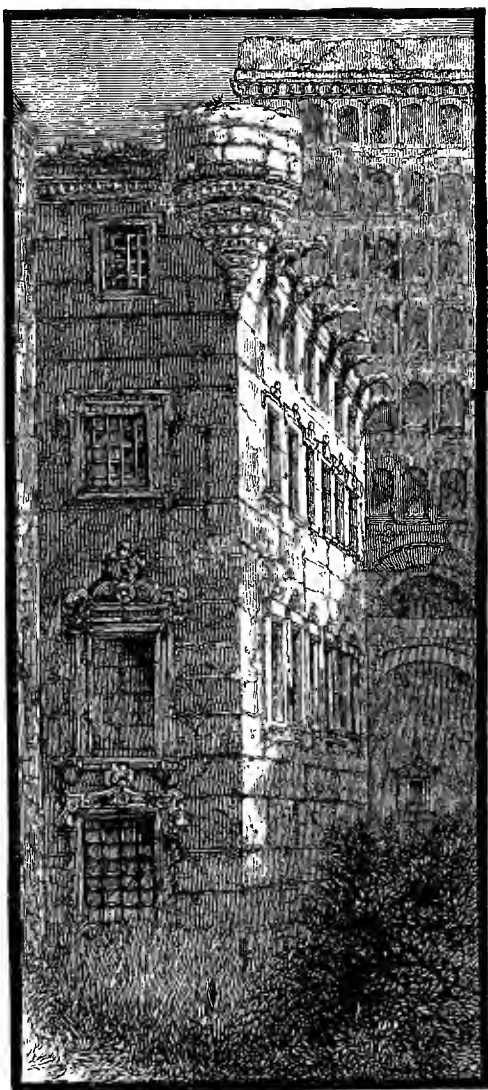
Close to the cathedral is the Plaza del Rey, once a principal square, though small ; and it receives its name from the ancient palace of the Aragonese kings. Part of a castle-like building still remains and abuts on the Plaza, as shown in our engraving. Connected with it is a Gothic chapel of the thirteenth century. The old palace was given to the Inquisition, and here were held its iniquitous courts ; here were immured its oft-times innocent and always pitiable victims. The prison-like look of the grim stone edifice is still to some extent retained. The grated windows tell sad tales, but the place now is used for a museum.

This brings me to notice the following facts, but where exactly the *autos* were held in Barcelona, and the burnings took place I could not determine. The former might have been in what is now

¹ I am much indebted to my daughter for this report,

the Plaza Constitucion, the latter at the lower end of the Rambla, where Philip V. pulled down two thousand houses, thirty-seven streets, and three churches, to make room for an entrenched camp; but such local identifications are quite conjectural.

In a despatch from the French ambassador to his own court in May, 1564, allusion is made to an *auto de fé* at Barcelona in the month of February. A special preparation had been made for the ceremonies, because of the royal presence, and the presence also of Spanish bishops just returned from sittings of the Trentine Council. The scaffold was erected under the palace windows, that Philip II. might sit at his ease and view the spectacle, surrounded by the court and the clergy. Eight persons were burnt alive, and a great number were



THE PRISON OF THE INQUISITION, BARCELONA.

condemned to the galleys. The victims were almost all of them French, which was to be accounted for by the nearness of Barcelona to France, and shows how people from that country, tainted by heretical opinions, were sought out and punished by the Inquisition.

The same despatch addressed to Catherine de' Medici states that the ambassador had complained to Philip respecting the manner in which Frenchmen had been maltreated by the Inquisition. All he could get from his Spanish majesty was that he had little power over its affairs, but he would recommend the Grand Inquisitor to render fair and prompt justice to the accused. The Grand Inquisitor promised that the French should be no more ill-treated than the Castilians. "The fair and prompt justice," says his excellency, "amounts to this, that they were burnt alive in his majesty's presence."¹

We catch further glimpses of activity, in 1568, on the part of the Inquisition at Barcelona. They informed the Supreme Council of heretical books having been introduced across the French frontiers. An officer at Perpignan, they said, apprehended a merchant who had packed up a number of Lutheran books in the Castilian language destined for Spain : and at the same time the Spanish ambassador at Paris informed his master that heretical volumes were secreted in wine casks sent from Champagne and Burgundy, and that the manœuvre had been accomplished with so much skill that the custom-house officers had allowed them to pass. Next year the Inquisition of Barcelona excommunicated and imprisoned two city magistrates—one a military, the other a court officer—for having interfered with the Holy Office in some matters of a commercial kind. The Royal Council of Aragon entered into a contention with the Tribunal respecting its competence to meddle with such affairs ; but Philip II. put an end to the dispute by liberating the prisoners ; not daring, perhaps not wishing, to punish

¹ 'Don Carlos et Philip,' ii. 107.

the disobedience of Inquisitors, who had been forbidden by law to anathematise magistrates, in the fulfilment of their office, and had been ordered to treat them with respect.¹ This is all I find particularly stated respecting the conduct of the Barcelona branch of the Holy Office at that time ; but Dr. M'Crie states in general terms, "none of the provincial tribunals was so much occupied in suppressing the Reformation as those of Logroño, Zaragoza and Barcelona. In the numerous *autos* celebrated in those cities, a great part of those who appeared on the scaffolds were Protestants." He refers to Llorente as his authority, but though with regard to Logroño and Zaragoza, that author records facts showing that several persons in those cities suffered for heresy, I cannot discover any notice of Spanish heretics being punished at Barcelona, though I think it highly probable that this was the case. The nearness of Barcelona to Navarre and France, the constant trading intercourse carried on between the two kingdoms divided by the Pyrenees, and the zeal of a few people in each of them to learn and diffuse Scriptural religion, confirms that probability. And I have no doubt that even amongst Roman Catholics in that district there were some who did not depend for salvation upon the ceremonies of the Church, but, enlightened by the truth of God's Holy Word, conveyed to them in divers ways, they looked for salvation only through the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ.²

Montserrat is close to Barcelona, and at Montserrat we reach footprints of Ignatius Loyola. There it was that he laid his sword on the altar, and dedicated himself to the Virgin, whose

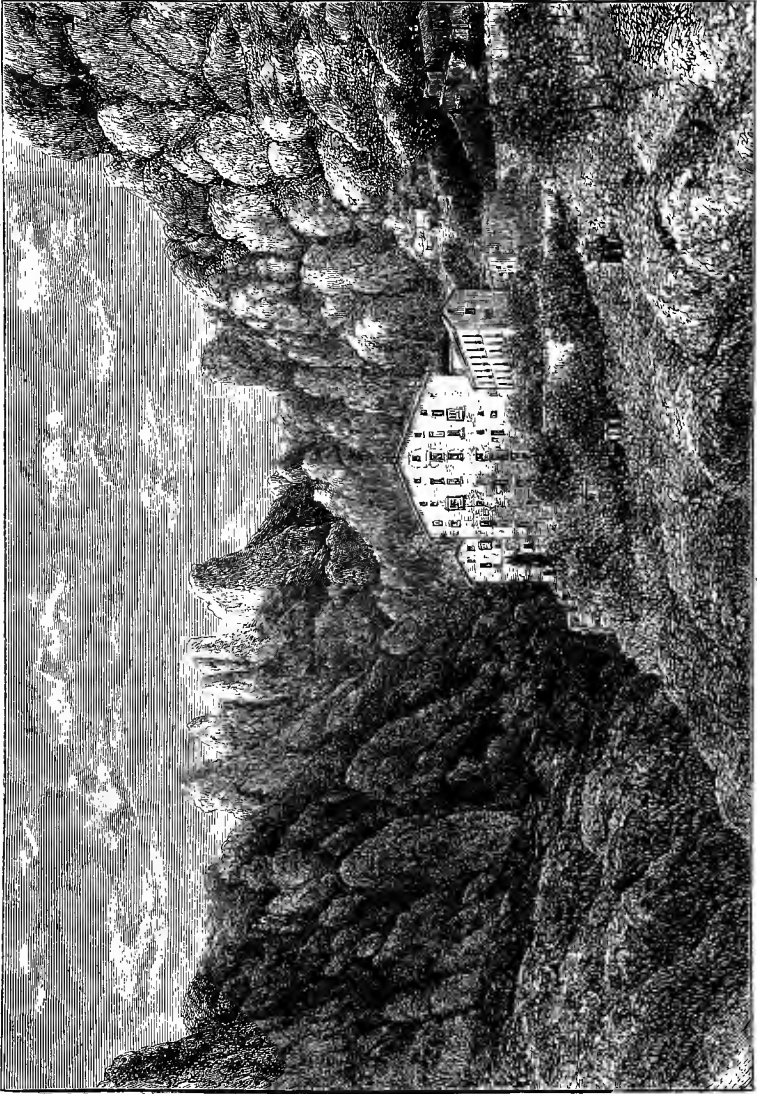
¹ Llorente, i. 477 ; ii. 501.

² Stephen Grellet, a well-known Minister of the Society of Friends, gives an interesting account of a Bishop of Barcelona fifty years ago, who was a zealous advocate for printing and circulating a Spanish translation of the Vulgate. He seems to have been a man of liberal mind. But Mr. Ticknor informs us that the version made by this bishop, whose name was Amat, was accompanied by authorised notes, and was not intended for popular use. 'History of Spanish Literature,' i. 297, 426. Grellet's account is found in his 'Memoirs,' ii. 360.

soldier till death he intended to be, instead of spending his days in martial strife and worldly pleasure. The sword is preserved in a church at Barcelona. From San Sebastian to that seaport, the traveller is on the track of the founder of the Jesuits. At Cestoria near San Sebastian, there is a college of the order, built on the site of a residence which belonged to the Loyola family, where a fertile plain is crowned by heights running up into the mountain chain of the Pyrenees. Upstairs, within the monastery, is shown a room in which the saint was born, "now encased and venerated, like the house of the Virgin, which angels moved from Palestine to Loretto."¹ A chapel too is shown, where he is said to have recovered from his wounds at the siege of Pamplona, a few miles off; and where, according to Romanist mythology, as incredible as that of the old Greeks, St. Peter came down to attend on this patient. From Pamplona to Zaragoza, and from Zaragoza to Barcelona, Ignatius can be traced, till he reached Monserrat, and the story of his conversion is recalled to memory. Suffering from a cannon-ball, which shot his legs, he had a protruding bone sawed off, in order to preserve him from personal disfigurement—so vain of his appearance was he at the time. He wished for favourite romances, but finding none, he read the lives of the saints, and, better than these, the life of our Lord, which so wrought on his soul, that, to use the words of Mrs. Jameson, "the lady to whom he henceforth devoted himself, was to be neither countess nor duchess, but one of far nobler state,"—the Holy Virgin, mother of the Saviour, and the wars in which he was to fight were to be waged against the spiritual foes of God, whose soldier he was henceforth to be.² From Monserrat he went forth on his memorable mission. In 1534, he founded the new order. He saw what was going on in Germany. He saw what was threatening the Catholic Church of Spain; and, mistaking good for evil, and evil for good, he strove to destroy truth, which he called heresy, and to restore the

¹ Ford, 902.

² 'Legends of the Monastic Orders,' 430.



THE MONASTERY OF MONSERRAT.

damaged bulwarks of spiritual despotism, which he called the Church of Christ. Never was the name more misapplied on the whole than when he incorporated his followers as the Society of *Jesus*. The central idea was obedience to *human* rules. All independence was extinguished, personal responsibility was merged in reliance upon laws imposed by mortal man. The Jesuit was to be a mere staff in the hands of the general of his order. Submission to a superior, the very essence of Spanish political life at that time, was here, as in other monastic institutions, the spring of action, the motive force of life. Ignatius was a thorough Spaniard. The whole was a Spanish creation, and strong was the hold it took upon the Spanish Church. "In Barcelona he made a very distinguished convert in the Viceroy, Francisco Borgia, Duke of Gandia; in Valencia one church could not contain the hearers of Aroz, and a pulpit was erected for him in the open air. In Alcalá followers of consideration soon congregated around Francisco Villanova, spite of the disadvantages of sickness, mean extraction, and extreme ignorance under which he laboured. From this place and from Salamanca, where, in 1548, they began their labours in a small miserable house, the Jesuits principally issued forth and occupied the whole of Spain."¹ Jesuitism was a deadly foe of the Reformation, and, together with the Inquisition, helped to arrest the progress of what was beginning to enlighten and bless the inhabitants of Spain.

There were others in Spain beside Ignatius who promoted a reaction against Protestantism by founding religious orders. St. Teresa, who in early life had been fond of novels and romances, and indulged in worldly inclinations, became absorbed in the idea of eternity, and devoted herself to a life of prayer and penance, beseeching the Virgin Mary to be a mother to her. She adopted the Carmelite rule, and established one nunnery after another upon that basis. At Toledo a young woman came to her, and asked to be

¹ Ranke's 'History of the Popes of Rome,' i. 220.

prisoner by Edward the Black Prince, and brought over to England, wrote the '*Rimado de Palacis*,' in which he describes kings and nobles, and paints with strong colours the vices of his times. He fails not to introduce St. Peter's bark, tossed on tempestuous waters, by storms arising from the sinfulness of the age,—whilst prelates, careless about the Church, oppressed their vassals, minding neither conscience nor Holy Writ. Vincent Ferrer, born 1357, of the order of St. Dominic, a preacher and an author, urged the reading of Scripture and prayer for Divine illumination to understand it.¹ Others might be added, but these suffice to show the existence in Spain of sentiments tending to the Church's reformation before the sixteenth century. They anticipated and typified what was to come, under aspects somewhat resembling those presented amongst the Waldenses.

One of the first things I noticed at Figueras was a number of boys scampering across the plaza, each with a wooden mallet in his hand. Every now and then they stopped and began to beat the ground vehemently, as if trying to get at something underneath, which they wished to destroy. The explanation given by a Spanish friend was, that in Holy Week these young urchins were wont to vent in this way their indignation against Jews, who crucified our Lord; and I further learned that, so intense is the degree in which the people realise the incidents of the Divine passion, that they go over them from hour to hour, calculating how long it will be before the final tragedy of the crucifixion occurs. Their feelings towards Jews are inherited from their fathers, and what I saw in the streets of Figueras illustrated the old Spanish hatred against the house of Israel—a hatred which extended towards all deemed enemies of the Saviour, and therefore it was cruelly wreaked on Mohammedans and heretics, no less than on Jews. The Jews looked on Jesus as a blasphemmer, and put Him to death; in like manner, with blind and

¹ Villemain, '*Lit. du Moyen Age*,' i. 218, *et seq.*; '*Hist. de la Réformation en Espagne*,' par Droin, who gives citations, i. 33, *et seq.*

impious resentment, the Spaniards three centuries ago put to death as blasphemers the very men who loved Him with all their souls, and were striving to walk in His holy steps.

The inhabitants of this and of the neighbouring towns and villages are of the same Roman Catholic stock as those who were contemporary with the Protestant martyrs. Spaniards in large cities penetrated by modern civilisation, and especially the Liberal political party, have lost the spirit which lay at the bottom of the persecutions I have described ; but in out-of-the-way corners that spirit is as rife as ever. I was taken to visit a town called Castillon, a few miles from Figueras, where there is a magnificent church—little known—with a richly sculptured west doorway, a Spanish *Coro*, an elaborate *retablo*, and a number of other objects full of interest to antiquaries ; there I witnessed, in the evening after dark, a procession redolent of mediæval times. Large unwieldy representations of Christ on the cross, and the Virgin Mary, surrounded by candles and flowers, were carried on men's shoulders. A man, with artificial hair all dishevelled, bore a huge cross on his shoulders, and a companion, stooping to the earth, lifted up the foot of the instrument of torture. A number of penitents marched behind dressed in mantles—and conical hoods, which hid the whole face except the eyes, and carrying in their hands flaming torches. One of them, who was doing penance for some great sin, was fettered with exceedingly heavy chains, dragged along by his naked feet on the rough stoned pathway. All this gave a vivid idea of the kind of religion upon which, in their day, Roderic de Valera, Constantine de la Ponce, and others had to work in their Protestant mission.

Next evening, there was a procession at Figueras of a much more imposing character. Few penitents appeared, and I saw no one dragging iron fetters on his naked feet, but there were representations of the Saviour and the Virgin on a large scale, with an immense profusion of candles. Gentlemen in ancient Spanish

costume, with enormous tapers, marched on each side, whilst three Marys in deepest mourning and flowing hair, followed the Crucified One, a lady personating Veronica, upholding her handkerchief, paced backwards in front of the image. Other three Marys occurred elsewhere in the strange pageant ; and between one and another of the moving groups were little children, evidently above the lower orders, dressed in long trained mantles, sedately bearing the emblems of Christ's sufferings. The procession was more than half a mile long, and had nothing of the rude simplicity witnessed the night before.

Just on the outskirts of Figueras is a ruined monastery which served for barracks in the Carlist war, and the walls now retain marks significant of its having been used for such a purpose. A little way into the country, at Vilabertran, is another ruined monastery, once of great importance and honoured by the presence of royalty, but now for the most part in a mutilated state, whilst the chapel serves as the village church. These instances recall many others, some noticed in this volume—Poblet and San Isidoro, near Seville, may be in the reader's recollection. In accordance with such circumstances is the comparative paucity of monks and friars in the Spanish peninsula. I do not recollect meeting with half-a-dozen men of the latter order in a journey extending over seven or eight hundred miles. The government has seized much of the conventual property, once so enormously great ; and this surely it could not have done if aristocratic and popular opinion in favour of ecclesiastical institutions had remained as it was in the sixteenth century.¹

Figueras is about fifteen miles from Portbou, where the traveller finds the Spanish custom-house in a gully between two tunnels.

¹ I am informed "that, in accordance with the Concordat, only three religious orders are permitted, those of San Vicente de Paula, of San Felipe Neri, and a single order of monks." The Government, however, tolerates, I believe, Jesuits, Franciscans, and others.

The coast scenery in the neighbourhood is very pleasant, consisting of beautiful bays amidst picturesque rocks ; after flying past them to the north, we are on the vast plain of Roussillon, looking, I should think, very delightful in autumn ; the route to Perpignan and Narbonne, however, must always be uninviting ; and with the antiquities of the latter Roman city I was greatly disappointed.

CHAPTER XV.

SPANISH EXILES.

IN a former chapter I described a group of Spanish travellers, who from different causes left their own country, and, not being able to return on account of their religion, devoted themselves to the advancement of the Reformation by means of the writings they published. In the present chapter I have to describe another group, consisting of those who, having more or less embraced the Protestant faith, were obliged to flee from their native country, and seek refuge beyond the reach of Inquisitors.

A large number went to Geneva. That beautiful city, which now attracts so many tourists by the scenery surrounding it, had other attractions in the sixteenth century more powerful than blue waters, green banks and snow-crowned hills. Geneva was a City of Refuge for Protestant exiles of many lands. John Calvin there reigned supreme from 1541 to 1564, and during those years Protestantism was the established religion of the place, and the gates were open to receive emigrants in sympathy with the ruling faith. Many of them remained long afterwards. The most numerous colony consisted of emigrants from Italy. The Reformation was then spreading amongst Italians, and family after family, influenced by it, fled from persecution to find rest on the shore of Lake Lemman. The famous Bernardino Ochino arrived in 1542, and found a number of his compatriots, who wished to hear him preach in their own tongue ; the Genevese Council, agreeably to their desire, gave them provisionally the use of the Chapel of the Cardinal.

They afterwards occupied the Temple of St. Germain. Peter Martyr Vermiglio joined Ochino; and the Italian refugees enjoyed the privilege of listening to the discourses of these eloquent Reformers. A regular Italian church organisation was accomplished in 1552 by the Marquis Galeazzo Carraciolo, a Spanish Neapolitan grandee. Converted partly by what he heard in his native land, and partly by instructions in Germany, he sought to promote the Reformation after his return to Naples, but finding himself disappointed he resolved to leave Italy, also trying to persuade his wife and family to accompany him. After a series of romantic adventures, he settled at Geneva; and after a long residence there procured a divorce from his wife, who had refused to follow him. The church which he organised was on the Genevan model, democratic in constitution—religious zeal and pure orthodoxy rather than wealth or rank procuring official distinction amongst the little band. A lay element preponderated, and four elders, four deacons and a treasurer were chosen by the congregation. With the two pastors, Ochino and Vermiglio, they formed a church consistory. Attention was paid to the musical part of worship. There was a choir, and the Psalms of David were chanted in the language of Petrarch. The syndics of the city had control over the temporal interests. Laetantio Ragnoni, of Siena, became pastor after Ochino had retired, and Celso Massimiliano Martinengo, a man of ability, was united with him in 1553. After his death, in 1557, Calvin endeavoured in vain to recover the services of Vermiglio, together with those of Zanchi; but, until 1559, Ragnoni remained sole pastor, when Nicola Balbani was chosen as a colleague. The church was disturbed by Unitarian controversies, which ended in the drawing up of an orthodox confession in 1558.

It was to the Italian congregation that the earlier Spanish refugees attached themselves; some probably understood Italian, and others, from affinity of languages, soon learned it. A German Protestant tells us that when he was in Geneva, he heard Balbani

preach to a large congregation of Italians and Spaniards in their own church.

In 1559 the Spaniards had, at the Temple of St. Germain, a service in their own language at the request of Calvin, and Juan Perez is mentioned as their minister; but they seem afterwards to have held communion with the Italians; exiles from both countries, together with converted Mussulmans and Jews, formed one congregation of Protestants. Between the years 1556 and 1568 there occur in the Genevan archives the names of the following exiles from Seville, Farcas or Farias, Hernando de Leon, Pedro Pablo, Peregrino de Pas and Cyprian Valera. One is mentioned from Valladolid, Juan Vivarte or Vivares; two from Zaragoza, Juan Ferrares and Francisco de Lunes; and one from Barcelona, Juan Tallavero. Fifteen Spanish families are said to have been included in the community.¹

Some prominent persons require special notice. Michael Servetus is described in the register as from "Villanueva en Aragon, savant universel, brûlé vif pour cause dogmatique, 1553." Sad entry! Into the much-controverted question of Calvin's share in this act it is unnecessary to enter. Intolerance, it must be acknowledged, was largely countenanced and upheld by Protestants; though the number of those whom they put to death bears no comparison with the multitudes burnt by the Spanish Inquisition. Servetus did not, as is often supposed, maintain that Christ was a mere man—so far from it, he believed that the Divine Logos was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth; but in his conceptions on the subject he trod rather closely in the footsteps of ancient Gnostics. He denied the doctrine of justification by faith and infant baptism, and also opposed the opinions of both Calvin and Luther on the Lord's Supper.

Juan Perez, described as "ministre de l'Eglise Espagnole, 1559,"

¹ 'Le Refuge Italien de Genève,' par J. B. G. Galiffe, D.D., is my authority for these statements.

was an interesting person. Born at Montilla, in Andalusia, he appears in 1526 at Rome, connected with the Spanish embassy there. Returning to Spain, he was appointed head of an institute at Seville, called the College of Doctrine, and became acquainted with Egidius and other Reformers, in whose doctrines he sympathised. Becoming a suspected person, he left the beautiful city, and managing to escape detention on the frontiers of Spain, reached in safety the Lake of Geneva, to be welcomed by the community settled on its charming shore. It was attractive to such fugitives, and Calvin, writing to Farel, 1551, spoke of them as daily increasing at that period. In 1557 twelve refugees are mentioned as having arrived from Seville within a year, including the prior, vicar, and proctor (*procurador*) of San Isidoro.

In 1556 Perez was at work upon a translation of the New Testament. The question whether the work was really his has been set at rest by Dr. Boehmer, who cites a passage from Cypriano de Valera, distinctly saying that in Geneva, Perez printed the New Testament, and other books in Spanish.¹ In the dedication he writes as a patriotic Spaniard, jealous of his country's fame, and wishing by the victories of Divine truth to surpass those which had been won by the sword. He dedicates his version to the King of Kings, and adds an address to the King of Spain, telling him it was a royal duty to protect and advance the teaching of Holy Writ. He also published a Spanish Catechism, and a translation of the Psalms, inscribed to the sister of the Emperor Charles. In 1557 came from his busy pen a bold letter to King Philip, in which he concludes that things ought to be called by their proper names. Truth, he says, is truth, and a lie, a lie. A lamb is a lamb, and a wolf a wolf; and so he tells the Catholic King to his face, that papists cast aside the Bible, and cloak the truth with papal false-

¹ 'Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,' ii. 61. Perez's Testament bears the imprint *Venecia*, but this is only a blind. Juan Philadelpho is named as printer—a pseudonym of Jean Crispin, Geneva. See also notice by Wiffen, prefixed to the 'Epistola Consolatoria.'

hoods. Excommunications, he declares, are scarecrows to frighten ignorant people ; and the immorality of Rome, he maintains, exceeded even its disbelief. Perez seems to have gone beyond his brethren in freedom of speech ; and besides this letter he addressed another, prefixed to a Spanish translation of Sleiden's Orations, to the emperor. In this epistle, instead of courtly compliment, we meet with a denunciation of Spanish Inquisitors, and the King is told, if he allowed it to go on, he would become, not a ruler of men, but a king over *sanbenitos* and *ashes*. What ashes? Why the ashes of his most loyal subjects, the ashes of Christ's disciples.

Fires at Seville and Valladolid were blazing in 1559 and 1560, and as the tidings reached the ears of Perez in his exile, he wrote a consolatory letter to the sufferers. He reminded them that Simeon had prophesied the infant Jesus would be "for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be spoken against." This prophecy, he said, was then being fulfilled, also that the condemnation of those who opposed the Divine cause would be terrible, but that those who believed should be saved by Him, because of the love which made them willing to be crucified by the world. No wonder the circulation of this letter made Inquisitors very indignant.

In 1560 appeared a work entitled 'A brief Treatise on the old Doctrine of God, and the new Doctrine of Men, profitable for every faithful Christian.' On the title-page are the words of Jeremiah, "Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the way and see, and ask for the old paths. There is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." This production has been attributed to Perez, and in its pages the tables are turned against Rome ; real antiquity, the writer asserts, is on the side of Reformers, and papal doctrines are corrupt innovations. There is another clever Spanish tract entitled 'A brief summary of Indulgences,' in which the author, probably making use of a French original, brings out

the fulness of Divine mercy in the gospel of Jesus Christ, item after item, being a condensed repetition of Scripture passages assuring men of God's willingness to forgive them through His only begotten Son. The contrast between Divine and papal indulgences is obvious, and this suggestion of it, given in plain Spanish speech, is a work which has been attributed by Don Luis, and Wiffen to Juan Perez. Another book, called the 'Image of Antichrist,' has been regarded, but upon insufficient grounds, as a production of the same author.¹ Finally, I may mention a preface which Perez wrote to Juan Valdés' Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which has been well translated by Mr. Betts, and prefixed to his recent edition of that valuable work. Perez mentions the difficulty he had in deciphering Valdés' manuscript, and in "restoring it to its pristine integrity and purity;" he justly remarks respecting that author's character, he was a cavalier both noble and wealthy, "but he piously and wisely considered that true nobility consisted, not in holding himself to be *de sangre azurra*, of purer blood than others, but in being an imitator of Christ, and in obeying the laws of Christian chivalry."²

"Valeria de Seville, Cyprien, 1558, traducteur de la Bible," is another entry found in the Genevan register, and proves that De Valera, as he is called in Spanish, was amongst the exiles in Geneva at the date specified. He was born at Seville in 1532; he was acquainted there with those who adopted the Reformed faith, and became himself a decided Protestant. Whilst in Geneva he employed himself in translating Calvin's 'Institutes,' and in writing treatises on the papacy and the mass. He afterwards signalized himself as a Scripture translator. This will appear presently.

One more Spanish name on the list ought to be introduced—

¹ It is published in the 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles,' No. xviii. In my account of Perez, I have used the volume now mentioned, and especially the 'Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,' ii. 51-100.

² 'A Brief and compendious Commentary of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.' Perez's preface to the 'Christian Reader,' p. xvi.

“Galezio (Galesius) Pierre, docteur en philosophie, 1582, professeur de philosophie, 1583.” He must have reached the City of Refuge at a later date than the others I have described. He appears to have been in Italy for some time, and is said to have taught the Greek language and the science of jurisprudence in that country. He was suspected of heresy, came under the notice of the Inquisition, and lost the sight of one eye, we are told, from his sufferings under torture. He escaped from prison in 1580, and at Geneva filled the chair of philosophy jointly with Julio Paci, an Italian professor. He was a Protestant at that time; but Tiraboschi, as M'Crie remarks, labours to show that he returned to the Roman faith in his latter days, but his arguments are inconclusive.¹

It adds to the interest of what we can gather in relation to these Spanish refugees, when we connect them with other Protestants in Geneva at the same time. The English exiles who sojourned there in the reign of Queen Mary were numerous. Their church book, from 1555 to 1560, is preserved in the archives of the Hôtel-de-Ville, and it discloses much information respecting the persons who formed the little Anglican colony. They had the Church of Marie la Neuve. In 1559, after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, several of them left the Lake City, and exchanged glimpses of Mont Blanc in its glory at eventide, for the woods and vales of dear old England; but they did not all depart until 1560, when William Whittingham, who had so much to do with our Genevan New Testament and Bible, took his departure. The earliest of the Spaniards arrived in 1557, three years before the disappearance of the English congregation, and presently afterwards others arrived—so that Perez and Valera, both Biblical scholars and translators, would be contemporary with Whittingham and his brethren, and all would be associates with the great John Calvin. That they had much intercourse with each other cannot be doubted; and as Englishmen told of the Smithfield fires,

¹ ‘Reformation in Spain,’ 364.

Spaniards would tell of Seville and Valladolid *autos de fé*. They would hear of friends and relatives trying to escape from persecution ; they would rejoice in that escape, and welcome the arrival of some ; they would lament the failure, the imprisonment, and martyrdom of others. We can picture them pacing the water-side, interchanging news, now sad, then encouraging—and afterward repairing to the house of God to intercede for loved ones far away. Nor would Calvin fail to sympathise in their varied feelings, and to cheer their hearts with the promises of God, firm as the everlasting hills round about their pilgrim home.

From Geneva we enter France, and there we find Juan Perez, after leaving Geneva, engaged as preacher in the picturesque city of Blois, and afterwards as chaplain to the godly Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, in her old castle of Montargis, whither she repaired after the death of her husband. Perez died in Paris, after bequeathing all his property to the printing of the Bible in his native language. Some Spaniards sought refuge in the city of Lyons, where Protestantism was strong. "The French Protestants showed themselves uniformly disposed to sympathise with the Spanish refugees, contributed to their support, shared with them that degree of religious liberty which they happened at the time to enjoy, and admitted several of them to be pastors of their churches."¹

Gaspar Olaxa, minister at Castres, was a Spaniard, but he was deposed in 1594 for "fomenting dissensions," whatever that may mean ; also Vincent Solera, minister of St. Lo, in Normandy, was a Spaniard. Juan de Luna and Lorenzo Fernandez, two monks who abjured popery, were likewise Spaniards. These all shared in the liberality of French brethren. Geronimo Quevodo, who escaped out of the fangs of the Inquisition, received a pension from the synod of Alez, at the discretion of Montpellier Protestants.²

In the South of France we come again on the track of De

¹ M'Crie, 350.

² Ibid., 351.

Reyna. The year 1564 found him there. He had left the Netherlands, Philip II. having set a price on the good man's head. He was said to be in Antwerp, but nobody could find him; people in search of the exile were foiled as they watched the streets, and laid wait in holes and corners. In the Belgian archives, there is notice by the chief police officer, that De Reyna was concealed somewhere in the city, on the 4th of January, 1563; and that his wife from England had landed in sailor's clothes at the port of Flushing. After that, he appears at Montargis, with Juan Perez and Antonio del Corro; and from a long intercepted letter sent by the latter, relative to the Spanish Bible, it seems Perez thought of printing it at a castle in Navarre.¹

Another Spanish refugee we meet with in France at a later period. Juan Nicolas Secharles, Librarian in the Escorial, had opened one day Cyprian de Valera's books, and from them had discovered how far Rome had departed from Scripture. He left Spain, and visited Italy, and in the papal city had his convictions respecting the apostasy confirmed. He removed to France, and took up his abode in Montpellier to study medicine; alarmed at the designs against him of a Jesuit living in the place, he removed to London, where he translated a book entitled the 'Shield of Faith,' and dedicated it to Charles II.²

If the grand old city of Bâle cannot vie with Geneva in natural charms, it rivals the latter as a centre of Reforming influence, and as a hospitable refuge for exiled Protestants. Erasmus and Oecolampadius had lived and laboured there. Romanism had been swept out of the place. English exiles, Hooper the martyr, and Foxe the martyrologist, had been kindly entertained by the citizens, and all this would make Bâle attractive to wandering Spaniards. A further attraction to Bâle presented itself to De Reyna in the fact of its fame for skilful printing. A succession of adepts in the

¹ 'Wiffeniana,' ii. 172, and 'The Brothers Wiffen,' by S. R. Pattison, 134.

² Droin, ii. 167.

art and mystery industriously worked the Bâle presses for the production of Protestant books ; and ingeniously contrived devices, placed on their title-pages, are in our time the bibliographer's delight. The celebrity of the city as a printing emporium was, I apprehend, the chief reason for De Reyna's going there, and there, we know, the publication of his Bible was accomplished. On that Bible he had worked year after year, and the aid of the Senate promoted the publication.¹ A copy of the book is preserved in the public library ; and in it may be found a note by the author, which acknowledges his obligation to the magistrates ; he also informs us that the printing had been executed by Thomas Guarinus, successor to the Frobens and Brylingers of former days.² This Bible, a large quarto, is arranged like the Vulgate, and omits a part of the Apocrypha. In the title-page is a bear plundering a bee-hive, whence it has got the name of the Bear's Bible.³ I am glad to be able to introduce a facsimile of the title-page.

Pushing northward, we meet at Heidelberg another Spanish

¹ Before the publication of De Reyna's Bible, there had been one printed in 1553, with this title-page : "Biblia en Lengua Española, traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisicion. Con privilegio del yllustrissimo Señor Duque de Ferrara. Con yndustria y diligencia de Duarte Pinel Portugues : estampada en Farrara a costa y despesa de Jeronimo de Vargas Español : en primero de Marco de 1533." This word for word translation from the Hebrew, examined by the Inquisition and printed at Ferrara, was for the use of Christians : the only difference between this and that intended for Jews is in Isaiah vii. 14. A copy of this Bible, lent by Earl Spencer, was exhibited at the Caxton Celebration. See Catalogue, p. 140.

² M'Crie, 349.

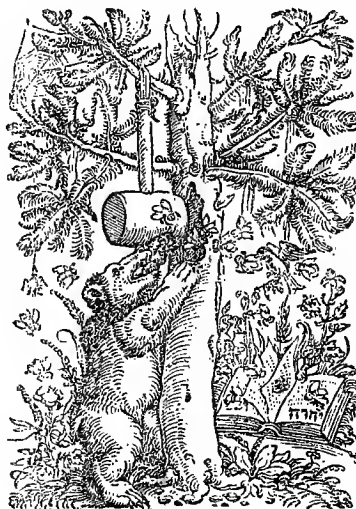
³ The following inscription is found in a copy of the Bible preserved at the Library at Bâle :—"Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalensis, enclytæ hujus Academiæ alumnus, hujus sacrorum librorum versionis Hispanicæ author, quam per integrum decennium elaboravit, et auxilio pientissimorum ministrorum hujus Ecclesiæ Basileensis ex decreto prudentissimi Senatus typis ab honesto viro Thoma Guarino cive Basileensi excusam demum emisit in lucem, in perpetuum gratitudinis et observantiæ monumentum hunc librum inclytæ huic Academiæ supplex dicabat a. 1570 mense Junio." The Bible was published in 1569.

Edición Granville Sharp



LA BIBLIA,
QUE ES, LOS SACROS
LIBROS DEL
VIEJO Y NUEVO TE-
STAMENTO.

Trasladada en Español.



דבר אלהינו יקום לעולם

La Palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre. Isa. 40.

M. D. LXIX.

exile, who wrote a memorable work on the Inquisition, and published it in that picturesque city.¹

This author is often called by the Latin name of Montanus, and that name must be carefully distinguished from Arius Montanus, a celebrated Hebrew scholar, who became involved with Inquisitorial censors on account of his Biblical labours. In the work on the Inquisition are detailed with agonising minuteness the torments from which the author had escaped, and which were afterwards endured by his persecuted brethren. The chapters relate the manner of proceeding in the Holy Office, the examination of witnesses, the employment of torture, the visitation of the prisons, the treatment of prisoners, and the penalties inflicted on them, together with some account of the martyrs at Seville. To read accounts given of the rack and of the cord which crushed the limbs of the accused makes one shudder. The book is trustworthy on the whole, as appears from Llorente's statement, that, having compared it with official records, he found it correct.²

This work is attributed to a person called Montanus, or De Montes, who is described by Llorente as having escaped from the prison of the Holy Office at Seville, and as being there burnt in effigy, and further by De Castro as visiting England. Dr. Boehmer, whose learning and judgment are of the highest value, thinks that such statements are mere suppositions, founded simply upon a perusal of the volume. He considers the name is a

¹ The following is the title :—" *Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ, ac palam traductæ, exempla aliquot præter ea quæ suo quæque loco in ipso opere sparsa sunt, seorsum reposita, in quibus easdem Inquisitorias artes veluti in tabulis quibusdam in ipso porro exercitio intueri licet. Addimus appendicis vice piorum quorumdam martyrum Christi elogia qui cum mortis supplicium ob fidei confessionem Christiana constantia tulerint, Inquisitores eos suis artibus perfidiæ ac defectionis infamarint. Exurge Deus, judica causam tuam, Psal. 74. Reginaldo Gonsalvio Montano authore Heidelbergæ MDLXVII.*" The book has been reprinted in the thirteenth volume of the '*Reformistas*.' The edition was secretly prepared at Madrid. It is also translated into Spanish.

² Llorente, ii. 242.

pseudonym, and may really allude to more persons than one ; and he concludes that the editor, who certainly was a Spaniard, translated from Spanish materials furnished him by others, and that he made additions drawn from his own knowledge and experience.¹ I question, however, this conclusion.

Following again the track of Cassiodorus de Reyna, we find him at Antwerp—after the peace of 1578, which brought for a while liberty to Netherland Protestants—publishing a Catechism in French, Dutch and Latin, dated 1580. He was afterwards engaged in the silk trade at Frankfort, in 1593, and became pastor of the Netherland church of that city, only eight months before his death, in March, 1594.

Now let us turn to our own country. Numerous Spaniards visited England in the reign of Queen Mary; and Strype says, "It is certain that in Queen Mary's days many of those Spaniards who came over in the retinue of Philip, the Spanish prince, or after, forsook popery, and became professors of the Reformed religion, which one cannot well tell how it should come to pass, unless it were by the hearing of the Gospel preached in their own language here. And it is observable, that among these many had been sent for over, in that queen's time, to convert our nation from heresy, as they termed it, and to reduce it to the Roman Church."² There were other ways, more probable than that suggested by Strype, in which Protestant truth may have reached the hearts of London Spaniards; conversation with Protestants and the reading of Protestant books were powerful instrumentalities.

Soon after Elizabeth's accession, the Spanish government demanded that two refugees then in this country should be delivered up for trial in Spain. Their names were "Franciscus Farias and Nicholaus Molinus." They appealed for help to the Bishop of London, telling their sorrowful story, how they had been banished, how money had been spent by the Inquisitor to secure their detection,

¹ 'Bibliotheca Wiffeniana,' ii. 116.

² 'Memorials of Cranmer,' vol. i. 246.

and that false charges were brought against them. They intreated his lordship to let them know whether it was likely the queen would leave them to their enemies.¹

These Spaniards complained of hard and unjust methods, "used by the pope's creatures to bring the professors of the Gospel into jeopardy;" they related "how liberal the Spanish Inquisition was of her money to get into their clutches such as were out of their reach;" what a harvest of men professing the truth there were even then in Spain, and what a "seasonable harbour" England afforded "to pious strangers."²

It is necessary here to notice what, in my topographical arrangement, I passed over in the sketch of De Reyna's wanderings. He came to London after Elizabeth ascended the throne, in 1558. This was eleven years before the publication of his Bible at Bâle. Converted Spaniards begged her majesty to give them protection, and grant them a public place for Divine worship; and some of the Reformed clergy were willing to allow for that purpose the use of parish churches. Not only did Roman Catholic citizens eye these foreigners with jealousy and hatred, but relations between the courts of England and Spain increased the difficulty of the situation. Alvaro, ambassador of Philip II., was ready to pounce upon the worshippers, if he knew where he could find them at worship, though he professed no enmity, and it was thought by the government best that they should meet in private, which De Reyna did not like. A despatch from the ambassador complains of the reception given to the family of Cassiodorus de Reyna, "I understand," he says, "that they have granted to the Spanish heretics a large house belonging to the Bishop of London, in which they preach three times a week, and they are favoured by the queen." He further mentions a remittance of money to Cassiodorus to assist him in travelling.³

¹ Strype's 'Life of Grindal,' 109.

² Ibid., 109.

³ Simancas Archives, quoted in Droin, ii. 157.

Troubles arose between the Spanish and French refugees. A man named Corranus, born at Seville, who strikes me as having been an ill-tempered person, and who said sharp and ungrateful things to his English hosts, was accused of heterodoxy by the ministers of the French and Italian congregations. The parties appealed to Theodore Beza ; the controversy was referred to Grindal, then Bishop of London. Secretary Cecil, however, was friendly to Corranus, honouring him because of his learning, and he not only removed the suspension of Corranus' ministry, which Grindal had pronounced, but made him Reader of Divinity at the Temple. He went to Oxford, and though coldly treated there by some, he was allowed by the authorities to lecture in the university, and, what is remarkable, he was appointed to a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral. He died in London about 1591. At the time of the dispute about Corranus, charges of immorality were brought against Cassiodorus. Defamation of character apart from proof was a common thing in those days. He solemnly denied the charge. A royal commission, presided over by Archbishop Grindal, pronounced him innocent.¹

The Spanish Protestants in London published a confession of faith, with a view to the defence of their orthodoxy, which had been impeached. They professed doctrines common to all Protestants, but as to the eucharist the confession sided with the Reformed, not the Lutherans. Philip was indignant at the favour shown to his heretical subjects, and, backed by the pope, he made no secret of his sentiments and designs. Jewel, whose apology was so popular a book in the days of Elizabeth, stepped forward in defence of the strangers, saying, "Thanks be to God, this realm is able to receive them. Why may not Queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ which are compelled to carry His cross, whom, when He thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven

¹ See Strype's 'Life of Grindal,' and Boehmer's sketch of De Reyna, 'Wiffeniana,' ii.

LA BIBLIA.

Que es,
LOS SACROS LIBROS
DEL VIEJO Y NUEVO
TESTAMENTO.

Segunda Edición.

Revisita y conferida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos
y con diversas traducciones.

Por CYPRIANO de VALERA.



La palabra de Dios permanece para siempre. Eſayas 40. 8.

En Amſterdam, En Caſa de Lorenzo Iacobi.
M. DC. II.

them back again, or drowned them, or hanged them or starved them?"¹

I have noticed Cypriano de Valera amongst Spanish refugees at Geneva. He reached England soon after Elizabeth ascended the throne. An Act of Incorporation at Oxford in February, 1565, shows that he had a B.A. degree at Cambridge in 1559-60, and that he was now M.A. of three years' standing. No doubt he worked hard in England on the great task of his life—a new translation of the Spanish Bible, a large folio of nearly 900 pages. In preparing this, he availed himself of what had been done by his countrymen already. He made much use of De Reyna's version; the New Testament by Francisco de Enzinas, 1543; the Jews' Bible, 1553; and the version by Perez, printed in 1556, without his name. He also "enjoyed the great lights of the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots, to both of which he refers with the honour they so richly deserve."² Two editions of De Valera's Bible were issued in the same year, 1602; and a facsimile of the second edition is now presented to the reader. It is taken from the copy in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The volume contains the Apocrypha as well as the Old and New Testaments.

De Valera's translation, according to the testimony of Diodati, the Italian translator of the Bible, "produced incredible effects in Spain, no less than three thousand copies having penetrated by secret ways and conveyances into the very bowels of that kingdom."³ Perhaps this statement refers to a New Testament, printed by itself in England, 1596. De Valera appears at Leyden, from a letter written by the famous James Arminius, who applied to the States-General for assistance on his behalf, saying, he deserved repose, and to spend free from trouble what little of life remained.⁴ He died at the age of seventy.

¹ 'View of a seditious Bull. Jewel's Works. ² Ticknor's 'Spanish Literature,' i. 425.

³ Quick's 'Synodicon,' ii. 418.

⁴ Droin, ii. 163.

De Valera translated Calvin's Catechism, and published it in 1596, under the title of 'El Catholico Reformado.' His Spanish translation of Calvin's 'Institutes' appeared in 1597.

In the early part of the seventeenth century there was a Spaniard named Ferdinando de Texeda, who was a canon of Hereford, appointed to that preferment by James I. for having translated the English Liturgy into the Spanish language. He wrote a book entitled 'Carrascon,' which has been printed by Don Luis,¹ as the first volume of the series named, 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.' It is a treatise on several subjects connected with the Protestant controversy. The study of Holy Scriptures occupies a large part of the volume, and the author dwells upon the canonical books, the Latin Vulgate and the integrity of the Hebrew text. He discusses the doctrine of implicit faith, the worship of images, the use of Latin in the Divine Office, and the practice of monachism.

¹ To him we are indebted for the discovery of the author's name. Mr. Ticknor had confounded it with the title of the little volume, and calls him Thomas Corrascon, 'Hist. of Spanish Lit.,' i. 429. *Carrascon* is a Spanish word, which, according to the dictionary, means a large evergreen oak; but Mr. Borrow says it is used to denote "a species of brushwood" ('Bible in Spain,' chapter ix.).

CHAPTER XVI.

MODERN EVANGELISATION EFFORTS IN SPAIN.

A MOVEMENT in Spain has commenced during the present century, for the revival of Evangelical religion among the people, in a form more decidedly Protestant than it assumed in that country three hundred years ago. There is an obvious difference between the past and the present in this respect, that whereas then persons engaged in maintaining and propagating Reformed doctrines were themselves Spaniards, now agencies of a similar kind are mainly in the hands of foreign Christians. Protestantism, more antagonistic to Rome than what existed in the Peninsula at that period, is certainly in our day rather an importation than a home growth; yet a much larger number of the children of the soil are being touched by missionaries from other lands employed amongst them, than were reached by their countrymen of old; whilst the lower classes yield now more converts than they did in Seville and Valladolid, in the days of Ponce de Leon and the Cazallas. Any criticism of different methods now adopted in Spain for the conversion of Roman Catholics would be out of place in these pages; but a brief statement of what is going on will be a fitting conclusion to this volume. I shall therefore first describe what I saw myself, and then furnish some account of what is reported by others.

For historical reasons, I have noticed certain parts of Northern Spain in a different order from that in which I visited them; but

for the purpose now before me it is better to follow exactly the route which I took in my journey.

I shall therefore begin with Figueras, my first halting-place after crossing the border at Portbou. A mission exists at Figueras, commenced by Don Francisco Previ, who became a Protestant whilst at an English ophthalmic hospital in 1875. After his death in 1880, the work was undertaken by Don Luis L. Rodriguez, who has since married Miss Murray; that lady and her husband are now employed in promoting the spiritual welfare of the population. They are aided by two Spanish brothers, and three English friends. During three days spent in the town, I was indebted to them for kindness and hospitality, and had ample opportunities of estimating the value of their self-denying labours. They have a large commodious hall, neatly fitted up for Divine worship—the painting outside and in, together with the decorations on the walls, having been executed by their own hands. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty people are accommodated in this little chapel, the gospel being preached to them by Don Rodriguez and one of his brothers. There is a Sunday school of one hundred and thirty-five boys and girls, divided into eight classes—showing an increase of forty-nine during the last year. Added to these are day schools for children and evening schools for adults, the number of the instructed altogether amounting to one hundred and twenty-seven. At a small village called Vilabertran, there is, in a dismantled monastery of Knights Templars, once the scene of a royal wedding, a large room fitted up for worship and preaching; at the other end an old Romish chapel is used as a parish church.¹ The Sunday school numbers one hundred and sixteen scholars. We drove over to the spot, and met there, amongst the ruins, with several persons interested in the enterprise. Some rustic families, turned out of employment by the land-holder, remain, notwithstanding, quite steadfast in their Christian profession. Doña Rodriguez informed

¹ The monastery I have noticed in Chapter XIV.

me that, "Circling around the town of Figueras lie sixty-two villages, giving ample scope, not only for preaching the Gospel, but also for distributing the Scriptures. We go forth," she says, "very hopefully to sow the seed in this virgin soil, and have met with several instances of encouragement which make us look forward 'to the reaping by-and-by.' It was not a little cheering on one occasion to see written in large characters on a cottage door, those blessed words, *so unfamiliar* to the Romanist, 'Dios es Amor,' 'God is Love.' Who could be the writer? A boy who attended our Sunday school in Figueras, and in his simple way was thus a missionary in the village."

These indefatigable missionaries in Figueras and the neighbourhood attend to the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the people, and have established a provident society with printed regulations. Without expressing any opinion on the subject, I feel I ought to state that, six months' probation is necessary before a member is admitted, and in case of improper conduct he is expelled after a third trial. On entering, the members promise not to go to mass, nor to confession, nor to admit a priest into the house in case of illness. It is understood that the members attend the gospel services.

There are such restrictions on religious activity that our friends are under the necessity of procuring the governor's permission to circulate tracts. At first he refused, but afterwards he sent to request Don Rodriguez to go to his office, which he did. He was kindly received, which contrasted forcibly with the former discourteous reception. "Were you aware," said the commanding officer, "that you left some of your papers on the table?" "Yes, I did so, hoping that some one would read them." "I have done so," replied the governor, "and think they are very good; you may distribute as many as you like;" on which he put his seal to a specimen tract and text, thereby giving power to distribute copies in future. A governor's seal is valid, should another take his office.

From Figueras my daughter and I proceeded to Barcelona, and there called on a Wesleyan missionary, but unfortunately did not find him at home ; we understand that he is sedulously employed in evangelistic labours. There is in the same city a Swiss church with chapel and schools.

Gracia is a large straggling suburb, which was crowded with excursionists the Easter Monday we were there. In Gracia are several halls, mostly supplied by Plymouth Brethren. Around Barcelona are self-supporting mission schools.

We passed Reus near Tarragona, but were unable to stop at that interesting seat of industrial enterprise and political excitement, where we should have found a Protestant pastor, who is doing good, and whom we had been kindly requested to visit.

On reaching Cordova, by the circuitous railway route from Valencia, we were welcomed at the station by the Rev. Henry Duncan, who insisted upon our being his guests during our stay in the old Moorish city. He is a Presbyterian clergyman, son of the saintly Mary Lundy Duncan, who with her husband Dr. Duncan were great ornaments of the Scottish Church, and made a lasting mark on its history. Our friend suffered during last winter (1882-3) a severe illness, which partially interrupted his work ; and now, after hopes had been entertained of his continued mission in Spain, he has been obliged to relinquish his interesting station. The premises occupied by him, as agent of the Spanish Evangelisation Society, form a characteristic specimen of a Moorish-Spanish house, with its *patio* in the middle, and its colonnade all round ; and in a long narrow room, fitted up as a church, we had the pleasure of worshipping with him on a Sunday evening. There were about fifty people present, all Spaniards, except his family and ourselves ; and it was interesting to hear Spanish hymns translated from Moody and Sankey's book, sung to the tunes which are now familiar to Protestants all over Europe as well as America. The subject of Mr. Duncan's earnest sermon was most suitable to Spanish

converts, exposed to much persecution—the text being, “Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for He is faithful that promised.” Mr. Duncan, assisted by the Rev. Don José Pauly, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, has been general pastor and superintendent of the work carried on in Villafranca, Seville, Cadiz, Utrera, Huelva, Escornar, Las Lineas, and Lorca, and in some minor stations besides. A gratuitous monthly supply of the ‘Christian Messenger’ and ‘Commentary’ is sent through book post to the upper classes, by means of this wide-spreading agency; it also furnishes tracts to Spaniards and Portuguese who visit English ports. The humble methods, the local difficulties, and the increasing encouragements of these Evangelical labourers are illustrated by Mr. Duncan, who, speaking of Villafranca, where Don José Pauly preached, relates: “The place was packed full, and greatly overflowing. We have only secured four or five benches as yet; a lamp was lent, and those who could not sit had to stand. Between the room, I hope, that is to be used as a school-room (when we can send a teacher there), and the street door our landlord counted eighty. Nearly as many more would be packed into the room, and those in the street, who could easily hear, were not counted. Many came and brought their children, who would not go to the private house. Many went away confessing that they liked us and our doctrines.”

Again, to show how the work advances, Mr. Duncan says of a place called Escornar:—

“The news from this place is as enthusiastic as ever. It is true that some of the children, having finished their education, so far as Ruiz (the master) could carry it, have left to gain their living; but there are seldom fewer than thirty present, and the night school for youths and men is very full. Ruiz’ only son died on the 1st November, and was buried by the side of his sister, by the dung-heap outside the cemetery of an adjacent village, which serves for Escornar.”

Our next glimpse of Protestant work was caught in the charming city of Seville. There we had the advantage of visiting Miss Butcher and her sister, whose ciceroneship I have gratefully acknowledged in Chapter VIII. These excellent ladies are carrying on their own independent work in the Calle San Vicente, not far from the church in which Francisco Zafra preached as vicar of the parish. We found a company of bright Spanish girls gathered round their teacher, who examined them as to what they had learnt, and who conducted them through musical exercises, much to our gratification. Again Moody and Sankey's hymns were laid under contribution. Under the guidance of Miss Butcher, we saw two of the four churches occupied by Protestant worshippers. The first is the Church of the Assumption, in the Plaza del Museo, where English service is conducted by the Rev. Mr. Tugwell every Sunday during the season. The second is the Church of San Basilio, Calle Relator. The third is the Church of the Marineros (sailors), in the Triana suburb, on the right side of the river, and the fourth is the Church of the Holy Trinity, in the Calle de las Palmas. This, which was formerly the Church of San Francisco de Paula, is a handsome edifice, fitted up in 1871 by the Spanish Evangelisation Society. The following woodcut shows it as it was when in the possession of Spanish Catholics.

Don Manrique Alonso is the present minister, and he relates the following incident :—

"I was walking early one night in one of the most crowded streets of the town, and they called me into one of the commercial establishments, begging me to pass into a room close by, where there were some friends of the owner met, who desired to consult me on a doctrinal point. When I entered I was surprised to find an open Bible on a table, round which there were some seven persons of respectable appearance. The point which they were discussing was Luke v. 14, which some had presented as proof of the power of the priests to forgive sins. The conversation was long ; many

passages of the Bible were read to prove that the cleansing from sin is solely by the blood of Christ ; and hence originated other



OLD JESUIT CHURCH, SAN FRANCISCO DE PAULA, SEVILLE,
NOW USED FOR PROTESTANT WORSHIP.

matters of doctrine, which also were treated. All those present, except one, had the Bible in their houses, and he who had none

expressed to me his wish to obtain one, as he has since done. On other nights I have returned to speak in this meeting of friends."

At Rio Tinto, in the south of Spain, where there are rich copper mines, mission work is efficiently carried on, largely supported by the Messrs. Matheson; and in the north of Spain, agents of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions are employed at Bilbao, San Sebastian, Pamplona and Zaragoza.

Madrid is the scene of manifold Protestant operations, with some of which I had special opportunities of becoming acquainted.

At Leganitos, within a building I have already mentioned in the chapter on Madrid, as having been once connected with the offices of the Inquisition, there are two chapels—as I have said, one Episcopalian, the other Presbyterian. The latter is a mission station with schools, supported by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. I visited the schools and attended Divine service on the Sunday evening, when there was an attendance of between one and two hundred people—not so large as usual; and after Mr. Jameson had preached in Spanish, I was permitted to speak in English, what I said being translated by him into the language of the congregation. The kind reciprocations of Christian love on the part of some present affected me greatly; and we exchanged greetings in the words of the Apostle Paul, "we being many, are one body in Christ."

Near the royal palace, and overlooking the Guadarrama Mountains, in spring covered with snow, is a huge rambling old house of several stories. It was once occupied by the Princess Eboli, and in the hall near the threshold, Juan Escobeda, who had been a favourite of Philip II., was stabbed by order of that iron-hearted monarch. In this building there lives at present the well-known pastor Fliedner, son of Fliedner who founded the famous Deaconess Institution at Kaiserwerth, on the Rhine. The pastor's wife is a descendant of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, whose 'Self-interpreting Bible' years ago obtained a

wide popularity. We had abundant opportunities for learning what Pastor Fliedner is doing in many ways. He acts as chaplain to the German Embassy, and is indefatigable as a missionary and philanthropist amongst the Spanish people. He conducted us to Calle Calatrava, 27, which is the centre of his activities. No designating inscription on the outside wall of a Protestant institution is allowed in Spain, but after proceeding through a passage, over a coloured glass door, we saw in golden letters, the name *Jesus Church*. Above the entrance are the words, "The Lord is my Shepherd." Many inscriptions adorn the walls, and the place of worship altogether is very convenient and inviting. On one side of the passage which leads to the chapel, is a book room, where are sold Mr. Fliedner's periodicals, entitled 'Christiano,' and 'Amigo de la infancia.' School-rooms occupy the right of the chapel, and upstairs we were conducted by the enthusiastic president through apartments used for an orphanage and a hospital. With regard to outside work, I shall leave him to speak for himself.

"We are now in possession of three houses for schools and places of worship, that in Madrid, one in Granada, and another in Camunus, a little village in La Mancha. Three congregations, two in Madrid, and one in Camunus, with their respective schools, are under our direct supervision. Four colporteurs are at present employed by us, one in Madrid, one in Malaga, another in Cuenca, and a fourth in Algiers.

"In connection with our mission there are employed two German and three Spanish pastors, one German and seven Spanish male teachers, and six female teachers, two German booksellers, with two assistants in Madrid, and one Spanish bookseller in Barcelona, four colporteurs, a governor, and a matron in the orphanage, two church officers and a nurse in the hospital; in all, thirty-three labourers."

Besides these different stations which we visited, are others

which we had no opportunity of inspecting. They include chapels and schools supported by the Episcopal Society in aid of Missions in Spain, Portugal and Mexico, under the charge of ex-Padre Cabrera, Bishop Elect of the Episcopal Church of Spain. Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath, takes a deep interest in this movement, and I heard him preach a sermon on the subject at Cannes on my way to Spain. Liturgies, in the preparation of which, I believe, the Mozarabic ritual has been used, were circulated last year (that is, 1882), and met, it is said, "with a glad reception in all the congregations," contributing to form "a bond of union and sympathy." But the question of the Spanish episcopate, under consideration for four years, did not seem near a settlement this last spring.

I may add to this notice of Protestant work in the Spanish capital, that there are services held at a place called Glorieta de Quevedo Chamberi, "supported by English Christians, chiefly by Mr. George Müller of Bristol." A small meeting-room is engaged by the American Baptist Society; and besides these minor instrumentalities is another superintended by the wife and helper of Mr. Corfield, for so many years the effective and successful agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This brings me to the operations of that institute, which takes the lead in diffusing Scripture knowledge throughout the kingdom of Spain.

The society did not effect much in that country until the year 1835, when two gentlemen, Lieut. Graydon, R.N., and Mr. George Borrow, visited it, apart from each other. The lieutenant largely distributed the Scriptures between the date just given and 1837. Mr. Borrow, a very remarkable person, possessing an almost unrivalled gift for the acquisition of languages, was an agent of the society from 1833 to 1839, commencing his labours at Petersburg; and when asked how long it would take him to prepare for the journey replied, that the only preparation he needed was to buy a new pair of shoes. At Petersburg, he edited the New Testament in Manchu; and after a short time spent in Russia, he in 1835 under-

took an agency in Spain, where he printed a fresh edition of the Spanish New Testament, and also translated St. Luke's Gospel into the dialect of the Zincali, or Gipsies, with whose character, customs and speech he had become perfectly familiar. He projected plans for circulating the Scriptures, which he was unable fully to carry out, and for his zealous endeavours in that good cause he was twice imprisoned. His 'Bible in Spain,'—a book as extraordinary as the author himself—excited immense interest in 1842, and was warmly praised by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons. Mr. Borrow's experiences amongst the Spaniards were unequalled, and no fiction can surpass his narrative in the wonders he relates. An unprecedented impulse was given to Bible circulation in Spain by the events of 1870; and—though the demand since has not kept up to the mark it reached then—altogether nearly two million copies of the Scriptures, entire or in part, were reported in 1882 as having been distributed down to that date.

A Christian gentleman at Barcelona remarked to me that if the choice were between giving up the Bible work and giving up all other missionary organisations, there could be no doubt about retaining the former in preference to the latter. The Annual Reports of the Society abound in gratifying instances of usefulness.

The National Bible Society of Scotland has a depôt in Madrid, at 4 Leganitos, where the Rev. Mr. Jameson's operations are carried on.

Another efficient helper in Spanish evangelisation is found in the 'Religious Tract Society.'

"About 8,000 tracts," in 1823, we are told in the Jubilee Memorial, "were sent from Gibraltar;" and the information received led the committee to hope that "difficulties were passing away." A minister remarked: "Many of the Spaniards begin to suspect that they have been misled, which has resulted from their reading the Holy Scriptures and religious books. They willingly receive tracts, and as willingly converse on the subject of religion." He

added: "I am acquainted with a Spanish priest who begins to enjoy Divine truth through the reading of some tracts."

It is stated in the same volume, in reference to 1836: "The Spanish journals occasionally ventured to speak kindly of the labours of the foreigners. The editor of a Malaga newspaper, when referring to the gratuitous distribution of religious tracts, both to the young and to heads of families, remarked, "It appears to me to be due to such an act of genuine philanthropy, to present thanks to the distributor on behalf of the public at large, who are indebted to him for a benefit, which may be slighted, indeed, by ignorance and ingratitude, but which must be highly appreciated by every man of good sense. Eternal praise to so beneficent a stranger! Oh, that there were a few imitators of such actions. If there were, the evils which now afflict us would be soon diminished."

Testimony was borne by the Rev. W. H. Gulick, of Santander, at the annual meeting, 1882, to the continued usefulness of the Society's tracts. "To the question, is the Gospel really making way in Spain? he was disposed to answer, Yes. Some ten years ago he said, when my wife and I were there, strangers in a strange land, we found things looking very gloomy; we received no letters of introduction from Madrid, from the simple fact that there was no one in Santander to whom to present such letters. We had taken with us some boxes of tracts and books from the Religious Tract Society's enthusiastic agent, Mr. Armstrong, and these became our letters of introduction to the place. He commenced preaching in a private parlour, a hundred steps above the level of the street, which after three weeks was filled with people, some of whom came to listen, and others to enjoy the freedom they had never before known. Men who had received tracts from colporteurs, and who had heard something of the Gospel message from them, came desiring the word of life."

The Religious Tract Society has a depôt in Madrid, Jacometrezo, 59.

This sketch of Protestantism in Spain of late years ought to be supplemented by a reference to the religious literary enterprises of Don Luis de Usóz y Río, a Spanish nobleman, whose name has been mentioned in my account of the early Reformers. Through his labours, we obtain a correct knowledge, such as never appeared before, of the writings of Spanish Reformers, which are calculated to advance in Spain the interest of that great cause for which they endured death or exile. He is described by Mr. B. B. Wiffen, with whom he formed a memorable friendship, as "erect and rather tall in person, with thick black hair, closely cropped according to the Spanish mode; his countenance was grave and dark complexioned, yet mild in expression. His eyes were dark and animated; in figure and in features he was spare. He was modest, and had an air of polite reserve." He attained his fourteenth year before he saw a Bible, but under the professorship of Don Antonio Puigblanch, at the Madrid University, he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, and became critically acquainted with the Old Testament. The Holy Scriptures won upon his best affections the more he read them; and he imbibed spiritual views of Christianity in harmony with those of the Society of Friends, with whose history he was unacquainted. He was at a later period elected to the professor's chair of Hebrew in the Valladolid University, and to the close of life remained a devout student of the Word of God. In 1836 he visited England, and was taken by Mr. Borrow to a Committee Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in whose operations to the time of his death he was deeply interested; there he met with "a Friend" who introduced him to Mr. Wiffen. In 1839 Mr. Wiffen visited Spain on a deputation to promote the abolition of the slave trade, and then renewed intercourse with Don Luis, who in 1841 revisited England. Here, with Mr. Wiffen's assistance, he commenced his researches into the Spanish literature of the Reformation. "Benjamin Wiffen," he says, "was at once made a literary

proselyte as unexpectedly to himself as to me." "The consequence of our conversation at Seville was that it concentrated his thoughts and studies on the search for the works of those Spanish writers who were persecuted for their attachment to Christian liberty." The two friends now began their united career of Spanish investigation and editorship, and in 1847, Don Luis printed, privately, I conclude, the curious and witty book called 'Carrascon,' which he had bought of a Spanish priest in the country, prefixing to it an introduction of seventy-two pages. This formed the first volume of the 'Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.' There followed the 'Epistola Consolatoria' of Juan Perez, printed from the only copy Don Luis then knew to be in existence. He picked up a mean "dirty copy" of the 'Sanctæ Inquisitionis,' part of the margin deeply burnt, and proceeded to translate the Latin original into Spanish. To this he prefixed an introduction of eighteen pages, dated 1851. A copy of the work, handsomely printed, but with no name of the editor or of the place of printing on the title-page, now lies before me. Next he discovered a work by Juan Valdes, and this led to the opening up of the spiritual wealth in the 'CX. Considerations,' and other writings I have indicated in the present volume. Whilst Don Luis worked in Spain Mr. Wiffen worked in England, and this unity of purpose and love resulted in the series of the 'Antiguos Españoles,' twenty in number, all printed under the superintendence of the Spanish nobleman. He took care to have copies of the series deposited in certain public libraries—one set is preserved in the Bible House, Queen Victoria Street—but now, from the 'Revista Christiana,' a Spanish periodical (No. 76, for February, 1883), I find three volumes of the seventeenth century are published under the titles of 'Doctrina Util' (1560), by Juan Perez; 'Epistola Consolatoria' (1560), by the same author; and 'Tratado para confirmar en la Fé á los Cautivos de Beberia (1594), by Cipriano de Valera.

Don Luis died in 1865, and Mr. Wiffen in 1867. A beautiful letter written by Mr. Theodore Harris, of Leighton Buzzard, gives an account of his death and funeral.

Mr. Wiffen commenced arranging a "detailed catalogue of all the ascertained works of the early Spanish Reformers, with brief biographical sketches, in order to serve as a manual for scholarly reference, and to establish them as a class of writers, of whom their countrymen are almost entirely ignorant, through the successful suppression of their works by the Inquisition."¹ Mr. Wiffen's death prevented the accomplishment of this purpose, but Dr. Edward Boehmer, at the time Professor of Romance Languages and Librarian at the University of Halle, a valued friend and correspondent of Mr. Wiffen, undertook to complete the work, under the title of '*Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*.' Two portly volumes are already published, full of curious bibliographical learning, and to them we are largely indebted for some information we have attempted to convey. The second volume, the author tells us, is not intended to be the last.

Whilst Dr. Boehmer is working in Germany on the curiosities of Spanish literature, touching the Reformation, Mr. Betts is working at Pembury, near Tunbridge Wells, upon the translation of Valdés' writings into our own language. He is a translator worthy of the highest praise, for he seems to catch the spirit of, as well as to convey in excellent English, the original author's most admirable thoughts.

¹ '*Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*,' i. 5. For interesting details of Mr. Wiffen's labours, see '*The Brothers Wiffen*,' edited by S. R. Pattison.

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